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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIX.

APRIL 15, 1908—APRIL 21, 1909.



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.,
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
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The nineteenth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of the Society from April 15, 1908 to April 21, 1909 inclusive.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Edward L. Davis, Samuel Utley and E. Harlow Russell.

Papers have been received from Albert Matthews, E. Harlow Russell, William R. Livermore, A. Lawrence Rotch, Eugene F. Bliss, George P. Winship, Charles A. Chase, Reuben G. Thwaites, Edward L. Stevenson and William B. Weeden.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: John Chandler Bancroft Davis, Andrew Jackson George, Edward Gaylord Bourne, Daniel Coit Gilman, George Sturgis Paine and Otis Tufton Mason.

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April, 1862.

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April, 1876.

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October, 1878.

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XII

April, 1879.

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October, 1879.

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April, 1880.

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April, 1881.

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October, 1881.

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April, 1882.

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April, 1884.

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October, 1884.

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XIII

October, 1885.

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April, 1886.

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April, 1888.

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October, 1888.

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October, 1889.

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April, 1890.

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April, 1891.

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October, 1891.

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XIV

April, 1892.

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October, 1892.

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April, 1893.

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October, 1893.

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April, 1894.

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October, 1894.

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April, 1895.

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October, 1895.

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April, 1896.

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October, 1896.

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April, 1897.

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April, 1898.

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April, 1899.

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October, 1899.

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XVI

October, 1901.

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April, 1902.

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October, 1902.

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April, 1903.

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April, 1904.

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October, 1904.

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April, 1905.

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October, 1905.

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 WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES, Washington, D.C.

April, 1906.

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October, 1906.

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XVII

April, 1907.

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October, 1907.

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April, 1908.

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October, 1908.

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April, 1909.

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October, 1893.

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April, 1908.

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April, 1909.

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FRANCE.

October, 1896.

HENRY VIGNAUD,	Paris.
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April, 1905.

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GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

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April, 1893.

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GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

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April, 1887.

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October, 1892.

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October, 1893.

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October, 1894.

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October, 1901.

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HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

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April, 1878.

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April, 1887.

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October, 1890.

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October, 1904.

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April, 1907.

GENARO GARCIA, Mexico.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

Capt. ROALD AMUNDSEN, Christiania.

PORTUGAL.

April, 1882.

LOUIS HENRY AYMÉ, Lisbon.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, Coimbra.

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April, 1893.

PAVEL GAVRILOVITCH VINOGRADOFF, D.C.L., Moscow.

SPAIN.

October, 1882.

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JUSTO ZARAGOZA, Madrid.

April, 1893.

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WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
†HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
MAX FARRAND, PH.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
GEORGE PARK FISHER, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, B.A.,	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A.M.,	Washington, D. C.
ALCÉE FORTIER, LITT.D.,	New Orleans, La.
†WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, LITT.D.,	Providence, R. I.
GEORGE EBENEZER FRANCIS, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE PIERCE GARRISON, PH.D.,	Austin, Texas.
Rev. AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
†FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, A.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B.,	Ware, Mass.
JOHN GREEN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
†SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, A.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B.,	Dayton, O.
EDWARD HENRY HALL, D.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M.,	Mobile, Ala.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.

†Life members.

†GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, Ph. D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
DON GLEASON HILL, LL.B., . . .	Dedham, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE, . . .	Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES, . . .	Washington, D. C.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph.D., . . .	Ithaca, N. Y.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D., . . .	Washington, D. C.
Rev. HENRY FITCH JENKS, A.M., . . .	Canton, Mass.
EDWARD FRANCIS JOHNSON, A.B., . . .	Woburn, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M., . . .	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
FREDERICK JOHN KINGSBURY, LL.D., . . .	Waterbury, Conn.
†LEONARD PARKER KINNICUTT, S.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
†LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT, . . .	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
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WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
†Rt. Rev. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.C.L., . . .	Boston, Mass.
HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D., . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
FRANCIS HENRY LEE, . . .	Salem, Mass.
†WALDO LINCOLN, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
Col. WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE, U.S.A., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D., . . .	Nahant, Mass.
ARTHUR LORD, A.B., . . .	Plymouth, Mass.
†JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D., . . .	New York, N. Y.
Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, Ph.D., . . .	Hartford, Conn.
†ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, A.B., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, A.B., . . .	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M., . . .	Walla Walla, Wash.
SAMUEL WALKER MCCALL, LL.D., . . .	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D., . . .	Providence, R. I.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, LL.B., . . .	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D., . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, D.C.L., . . .	Easton, Pa.
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, . . .	Worcester, Mass.

†Life members.

ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD,	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., . . .	Framingham, Mass.
†DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
†ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, PH.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, PH.D., .	Philadelphia, Pa.
ANSON DANIEL MORSE, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, PH.D., . .	Salem, Mass.
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WILLIAM NELSON, A.M.,	Paterson, N. J.
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FREDERICK ALBION OBER,	Hackensack, N. J.
Rev. JOHN O'DOWD, A.B.,	Portland, Me.
HERBERT LEVI OSGOOD, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
THOMAS MCADORY OWEN, LL.D.,	Montgomery, Ala.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,	Albany, N. Y.
STEPHEN DENNISON PEET, PH.D., . . .	Chicago, Ill.
FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM, S.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
†JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE,	Worcester, Mass.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
†ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL,	Worcester, Mass.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE,	New York, N. Y.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D.,	Intervale, N. H.
ALBERT SHAW, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, A.M.,	Hanover, N. H.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
EZRA SCOLLAY STEARNS, A.M.,	Fitchburg, Mass.
†Rev. CALVIN STEBBINS, B.A.,	Framingham, Mass.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D., . .	New Brunswick, N. J.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D.,	Mobile, Ala.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M.,	Haverford, Pa.
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D., . . .	Madison, Wis.

†Life members.

ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH.D., . .	Madison, Wis.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,	Dedham, Mass.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE,	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
Rev. CHARLES STUART VEDDER, LL.D., .	Charleston, S. C.
Rt. Rev. ALEXANDER HAMILTON VINTON, D.D.,	Springfield, Mass.
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WILLISTON WALKER, D.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
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THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.

†Life members.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 15, 1908, IN ELLIS HALL AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The meeting was called to order by the President, at
10.30 A. M.

The following members were present:

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis,
James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith,
Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green,
Andrew McF. Davis, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden,
Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, William
E. Foster, Charles P. Greenough, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin
Stebbins, Carroll D. Wright, Henry A. Marsh, William
T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, William
R. Livermore, Waldo Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, George
P. Winship, Abbott L. Rotch, Edward H. Gilbert, E. Harlow
Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Albert Matthews, William
MacDonald, Roger B. Merriman, Francis H. Lee, Deloraine
P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt,
Franklin P. Rice, Caleb B. Tillinghast, James Schouler,
Henry E. Woods.

The call of the meeting was first read and then the records
of the last meeting were read and approved.

After this, the Council Report was read by Hon. Edward
L. Davis. A map of the city of Worcester and a diagram
showing the curve of growth in the past and the probable

curve of the future for a short period were shown in connection with the report.

The Recording Secretary then submitted, in behalf of the Council, a vote authorizing the President to sell the property now occupied by the Society in Worcester, to the County of Worcester, on such terms and conditions as the Council should authorize, and stated that the Council recommended its passage. He therefore moved that the vote submitted by him be adopted by the Society. Judge Forbes seconded the motion and the same was adopted in the following form:

Voted: That Waldo Lincoln, President of the Society, be authorized and empowered to convey the estate at the corner of Main and Highland Streets in Worcester, now occupied by the Society, to the County of Worcester, upon such terms and conditions as the Council shall prescribe.

The Recording Secretary in behalf of the Council submitted the following vote, the passage of which was recommended by the Council and moved its adoption:

Voted: That Waldo Lincoln, President of the Society, be authorized and empowered to convey the estate at Lincoln Square in Worcester, between Salisbury and Prescott Streets, and known as the Salisbury Mansion lot, to the Worcester Art Museum upon such terms and conditions as the Council shall prescribe.

The motion having been seconded by Dr. S. A. Green, the vote was passed in the above form.

The Recording Secretary then reported that, at a meeting of the Council held the 16th day of January last, it was voted as follows:

The Council recommend the Society to purchase about 40,000 square feet of land situated at the corner of Park Avenue, Salisbury and Regent Streets, the same being approximately described as lots 5, 6, 7, and 8 on a published plan of building lots, formerly owned by Stephen Salisbury and now owned by the Art Museum.

President Lincoln stated that he had consulted the records of the Society covering the period of the negotiations for the lot now occupied by the Society, and following the precedent then established, a vote has been drawn up referring the whole matter of the purchase of real estate and the erection of a building to the Council with power.

The Recording Secretary reported that the proposed vote was approved by the Council and was all the more satisfactory because it had been suggested that there might be other lots in the city available for a Library Building, which might be offered gratuitously or at prices that would compel their consideration. The proposed vote did not specify any particular lot and gave opportunity to consider other offers. Mr. Edes then offered the following vote:

Voted: That the whole subject of erecting a new library building and the purchase of a suitable lot of land on which to erect the same be submitted to the discretion of the Council, with full power to purchase such land and erect such a building as they may think proper.

JUDGE FORBES stated that he was opposed to the original recommendation of the Council, because he believed that a lot better situated than the one then described could be secured. As the vote proposed by Mr. Edes referred the whole matter back to the Council, giving further opportunity to examine sites, he approved of it and seconded Mr. Edes's motion. This motion was carried.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of members. Messrs. Greenough and Nichols were appointed tellers to receive, examine and count the votes cast for or against the several candidates.

The following list of names was submitted by the Council, all of whom were duly elected by the Australian ballot system.

For resident membership:

William Beer, New Orleans, La.

Franz Boas, New York, N. Y.

George Lincoln Burr, Ithaca, N. Y.
Alcée Fortier, New Orleans, La.
Peter Joseph Hamilton, Mobile, Ala.
Don Gleason Hill, Dedham, Mass.
Charles Henry Hull, Ithaca, N. Y.
William Coolidge Lane, Cambridge, Mass.
Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, Chicago, Ill.
Herbert Levi Osgood, New York, N. Y.
Edward Luther Stevenson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, Dedham, Mass.
Charles Grenfill Washburn, Worcester, Mass.
Samuel Bayard Woodward, Worcester, Mass.

For foreign membership:

Narcisse Eutrope Dionne, Quebec, Canada.

While the ballot was in progress Mr. Edes offered the following vote:

Voted: That the Council of this Society be requested to confer with the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society with a view of securing the proper editing and publication of all the manuscript diaries of Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, the greater part of which, if not all, are owned by the two Societies.

This was adopted.

A portrait of Stephen Salisbury, our late President, painted by Vinton was exhibited at the meeting. This had been presented to the Society by a member who did not care to have his name associated with any formal presentation of the gift. A vote of thanks to the donor was passed by the Society.

Papers were then read by

ALBERT MATTHEWS, subject: "Uncle Sam."

E. HARLOW RUSSELL, subject: "Thoreau's Maternal Grandfather, Asa Dunbar."

WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE, subject: "America's Place in History."

Mr. Livermore's paper was illustrated by diagrams, to which he referred from time to time during the reading.

Mr. ^{Albert} Lawrence Rotch then read a short paper containing further information as to the letters of Franklin which treat of ballooning.

The meeting was then adjourned.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS,
Recording Secretary.

Members of the Society were afterwards entertained at lunch by Rev. Daniel Merriman at his residence.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the annual meeting of the Society last October, the following deaths have been reported.

JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS died December 27, 1907. A notice of Judge Davis has been prepared by our associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes.

ANDREW JACKSON GEORGE died December 27, 1907. A notice of Professor George has been prepared by the biographer of the Society, Judge Utley.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE died February 24, 1908. A notice of Professor Bourne has been prepared by Prof. George B. Adams of New Haven.

Last month, a collection of duplicates of books and pamphlets from our library was sold by auction in Boston. While the offerings included a considerable number of early American imprints, they were defective copies, and, as they can only be used to complete other imperfect copies, prices for these ruled low. There was a good attendance of buyers, however, largely representing libraries, and the result, while not large in amount, owing to the great expenses attending such sales, particularly in the matter of cataloguing, was on the whole satisfactory.

The matter of arranging and indexing the manuscripts of the Society, has advanced steadily. This work was undertaken by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln in 1907, and the measure of the importance of our collections is being realized, as various pieces of manuscript are assorted, catalogued and summarized, for the benefit of historical workers, within and without our own membership. An illustration of the finished product of this work was given by the publication in the Proceedings of the Society for October, 1907, of a Calendar of the Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson.

To-day, there is presented for your approval a similar calendar of a kindred collection: The Manuscripts of Col. John Bradstreet. This collection is larger than its predecessor, and the Society has gone further, in the publication in full of interesting historical texts.

In this manner, the sources of history are made not only to render their most convenient service, but manuscript collections are invited to a library, where they will not be lost in a mass of other material. The same methods adopted for calendars, which are to be printed, have been employed for other indexing. Scattered manuscripts have been added to, and listed, with existing collections, or, when relating to a single person or period, have been gathered into a new group. This work of necessity is slow, involving in many cases, minute comparisons of handwriting, where signatures are lacking, or of historical settings, where dates have been omitted, or have been torn from the manuscript. Once done, however, this does not need constant revision, and is of manifest advantage, in that it simplifies problems of reference, and greatly enhances the value of our collections.

At a meeting of the Council, September 10, 1907, Mr. Waldo Lincoln was appointed a committee of one, to take action in securing the removal of the present limitations on the use of the Lincoln Legacy Fund,—established by his grandfather, Governor Levi Lincoln,—so as to make the fund available for the current purposes of the Society.

The decree handed down by the Judge of Probate Court, is given here in full, not only on account of its own importance, but also as a suggestion or guide to any one intending to make a gift or bequest to the Society, to secure to the Society the benefit of the fund, should conditions arise making it unnecessary or impracticable to carry out the original intent of the donor.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WORCESTER, ss.

At a Probate Court holden at Worcester, in and for the said County of Worcester, on the ninth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seven.

On the petition in equity of the American Antiquarian Society of said Worcester Petitioner, against the Attorney General of said Commonwealth, Respondent, praying that the terms and conditions imposed by the provisions of the will of Levi Lincoln, late of said Worcester, deceased, upon the use and disposition of a certain bequest of One Thousand Dollars given by said will to said petitioner, may be modified.

It appearing that said respondent has appeared and answered, and after hearing and consideration, it further appearing that said bequest was made to said Antiquarian Society for a general purpose of charity, that said Society accepted the same upon the terms stated, and for the purposes contemplated in said bequest, and is now under obligation to carry the general intent of the testator into effect, so far as it is possible to do so, and it further appearing that it is impracticable to carry the general charitable intent of the testator into effect, in the precise and exact mode specified by him, but that it is practicable to accomplish and carry into effect the general charitable intent and purpose,

Now therefore, the Court doth order and decree that the plaintiff be and it is hereby authorized and empowered to use and dispose of the income of said fund, and the accumulations thereof, in the manner following, to wit,—

If the Council of said Society, in any year, shall deem it expedient to offer a premium for an original essay or address on some subject connected with, or explanatory of the objects of the Society, to be proposed by the Council and to be read or delivered before the Society, at its annual or other meeting, the said Council may appropriate and devote for such premium or compensation, so much of the interest or income arising from said fund, in any year, as said Council shall think expedient or needful. A competition in the production of the essay or address shall not be required, but with the selection of the subject, the Council shall determine the manner in which, and the persons by whom, from time to time, the essay or address shall be given.

The balance of the income, in any year left after making such premium or compensation, or if in any year the Council

shall deem it inexpedient to offer such premium or compensation, then the whole income for such year, may, under the direction of the said Council, be devoted to the publications of said Society, or to the increase or maintenance of the Society's library and collections;

And if in any year all or any of the interest or income of said funds, shall not be appropriated or disposed of as above provided, then so much of the said interest or income as shall not have been disposed of shall be added to the principal to augment the fund, the interest of which shall be applied in the manner herein appointed in subsequent years.

FRED'K H. CHAMBERLAIN,

Judge of Probate Court.

The subject uppermost in the mind of the Council, during the past six months, has been the selection of a new site for our library building.

It is admitted that we cannot remain in our present quarters any length of time, and carry on our work either with enthusiasm or efficiency, for the obvious reason that we have practically outgrown our space and conveniences. The County Commissioners need, and in the immediate future must have, our present site, for the proposed extension of the court house, and they have frankly told the Committee of the Council that they should condemn our property, rather than allow us to spend money for anything more than ordinary repairs.

This decision on their part precludes the possibility of fireproofing or enlarging our present building.

An understanding, therefore, has been reached between the County Commissioners, and the Committee of the Council, by which the County Commissioners will take a deed of our property, at a certain price, within two or three years, at our convenience, and will apply to the legislature at its present session, for authority to issue bonds to provide means for the payment of the same.

A vote to carry this into effect has already been prepared, and will be submitted to the Society to-day, for its consideration and action.

At a meeting of the Council the original Committee of three, President Lincoln, Edward L. Davis and Judge Utley, appointed to consider the question of a site for a new library building, was enlarged to five, by the addition of Dr. Edmund A. Engler and E. Harlow Russell.

They have viewed various sites in different parts of the city, and have taken into careful consideration whatever advantages or objections have been presented.

From the fact, however, that the home of the American Antiquarian Society has remained in its present hall for the past fifty-five years, and for thirty-three years previous to that time, was only a few hundred feet away; and also recognizing that since the day of Isaiah Thomas, the founder of this Society, our late president and his father have been our greatest benefactors, a feeling naturally prevailed that, except for unusual and most advantageous considerations, we should not move entirely away from familiar associations and surroundings, or even try to acquire a site elsewhere than on land forming a part of the large Salisbury Estate.

It will be remembered that our late president bequeathed to us the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and the old Salisbury mansion estate at Lincoln Square, diagonally opposite the Society's hall, leaving the bulk of his property to the Worcester Art Museum which he himself had founded.

At one time, it was thought possible that the present Art Museum building might, partly by exchange, and partly by purchase, become the property and the new home of our Society, but after repeated conferences, the authorities of the Art Museum withdrew the proposition from further consideration.

The directors of the Art Museum were, however, desirous to coöperate with us, and to aid, so far as they were able, in the acquisition of an eligible site for our new building.

It is therefore with a peculiar feeling of satisfaction that we are able to report that an arrangement has been made, by which the Art Museum agrees to take the old Salisbury mansion estate, and to give us, in part payment, a lot of land bounded by Park Avenue, Salisbury and Regent Streets, about half a mile in a westerly direction from our present site.

The mansion estate has for us only a commercial value. The house built by the first Stephen Salisbury, probably in the year 1772, is an interesting and beautiful specimen of colonial architecture and construction. In the possession of the Art Museum, however, by reason of its situation, and relation to other property of the Museum, it obviously has added values, so that the agreement entered into, is regarded on all sides as a happy solution of a difficult problem.

The lot bounded by Park Avenue, Salisbury and Regent Streets, is the one unanimously recommended by the Committee to the Council, and by the Council to the Society, as the most promising site for our new library building. It contains approximately forty thousand square feet, nearly four times the area of our present site.

Electric cars from Main Street pass every fifteen minutes, and it is not unreasonable to expect increased service in the near future.

The site carries with it all the associations of the Salisbury environment, presents an opportunity for a building of dignified presence, abounding with air and light, and offers an attractive outlook over Institute Park.

An adequate fire-proof library can be built here, for a sum including land and building that should leave the Society with a working capital, not as large as we wish, or hope to have, but sufficient we think to justify the course recommended to the Society for its adoption.

Undoubtedly to some, and particularly to members from out of town, the site may seem to be far away from the centre of the city, and perhaps too far away from our present home, but those who know Worcester well, who are familiar with the conditions which contribute to its growth, and who have faith in its future, feel that it is well chosen.

In this connection it may be interesting to note that, our associate, Dr. Mendenhall, a few years since, when President of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, devoted considerable time to determine, by a mathematical curve, the law for the growth of population as applied to the

City of Worcester, using for the purpose the well-known method, based upon the doctrine of probability. A formula was deduced, from which the population of the city for a certain year was predicted.

A general interest in the subject, at a later day, impelled Dr. Levi L. Conant of the same Institute to investigate the whole subject anew, and to deduce, independently, the law of the growth of Worcester, for the purpose of predicting the population for 1905, and also for any year in the near future.

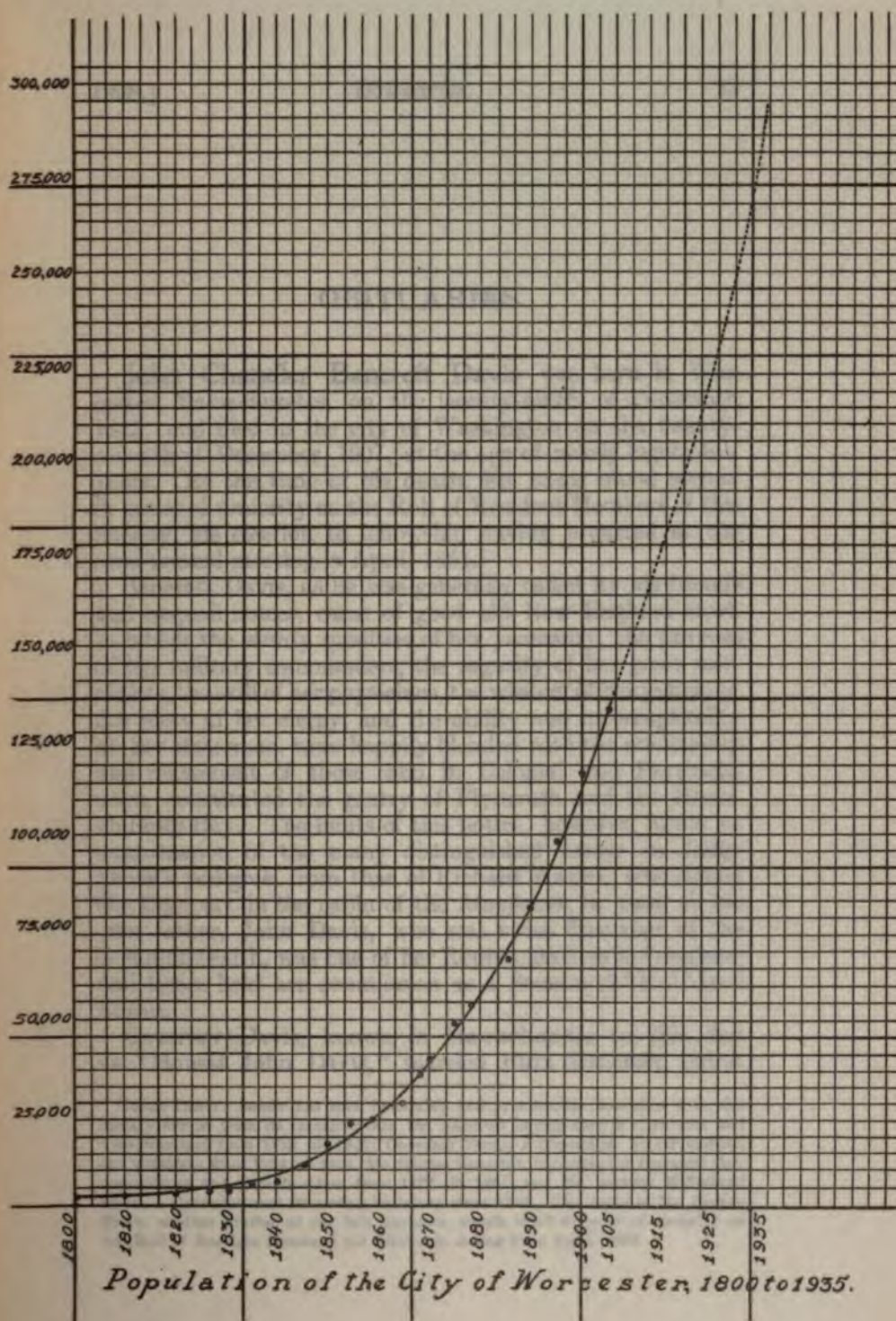
Without detail or explanation, your attention is invited to the result, which is that a computation worked out by Dr. Conant according to the law, gives Worcester for the year 1915, a probable population of 179,149, and for the year 1925, 231,560. The population to-day, estimated by the Water Department of the City of Worcester, is about 147,000.

A blue print is herewith submitted of a chart drawn by Clellan Waldo Fisher of Worcester, Architect, showing the theoretical and actual curves of population.

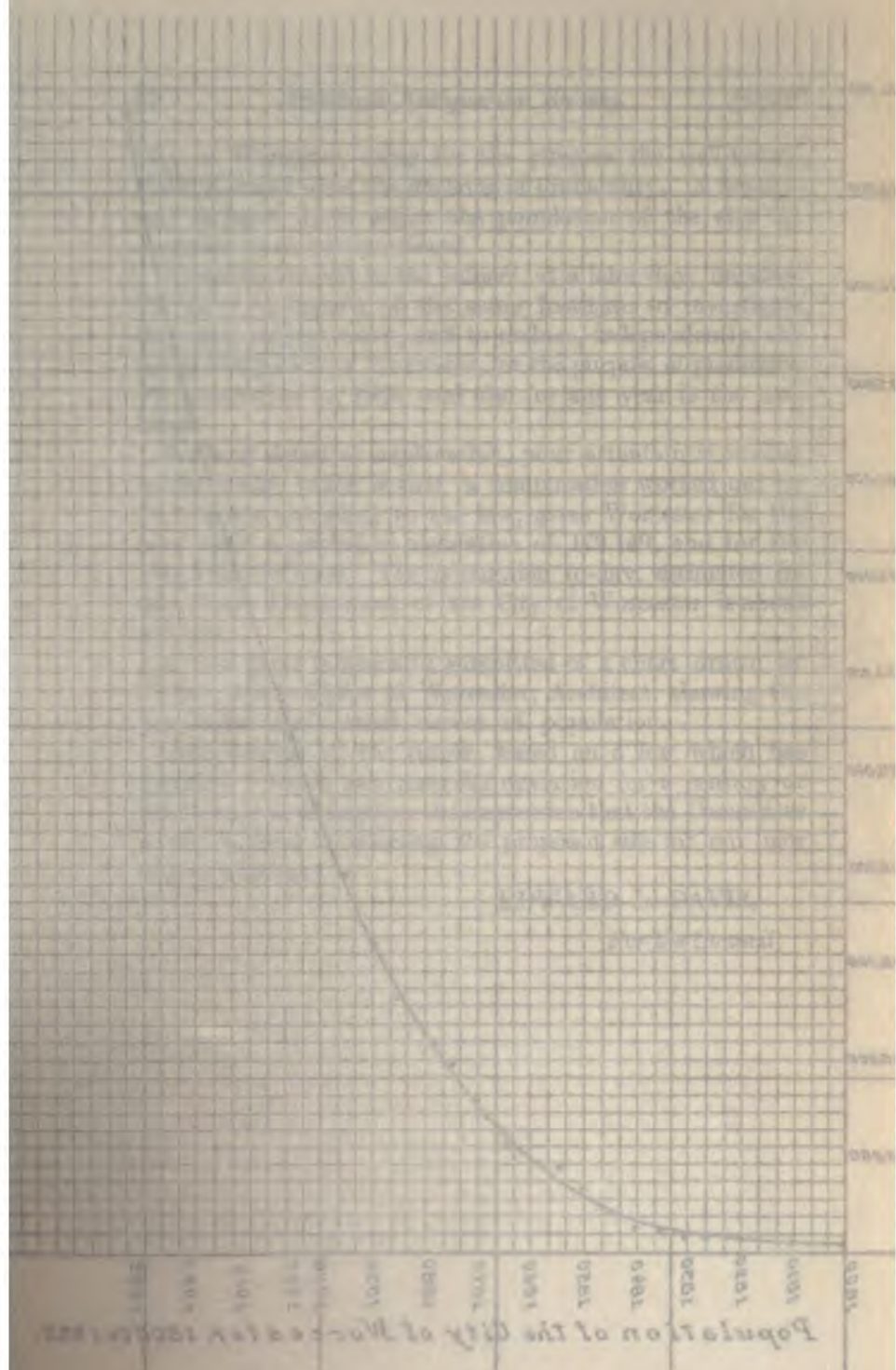
This forecast of the future, based on a law which has operated without any material deviation for a century or more, helps to strengthen the impression that the Committee is not in error in selecting the proposed site for our new library building.

EDWARD L. DAVIS,

For the Council.



Population of the City of Moscow for 1800-1922



OBITUARIES.

John Chandler Bancroft Davis was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1822, and died in the city of Washington on the twenty-seventh of December, 1907, at the age of nearly eighty-five years. At the time of his death, his name stood second in order of seniority on the Roll of Resident Members of this Society, his election to fellowship having occurred at the semi-annual meeting in April, 1851.¹

Bancroft Davis, as he was generally called by his friends and acquaintances, came of good old New England stock in which the sturdy qualities of her yeomanry, the prowess of her military commanders, the sagacity of her great merchants, the skill of her physicians, the wisdom of her judiciary, the piety of her clergy, and the ability and incorruptibility of her statesmen, were happily blended with the scholarship and refinement of those who, in Colonial and Provincial days, constituted the gentry of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay. The limits of this notice, however, forbid an enumeration of the many distinguished names in Judge Davis's pedigree, from that of Richard Warren, who signed the Compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, to that of his own father, John Davis, who was twice Governor of the Commonwealth, was one of her Representatives in Congress, and thrice held her commission as a Senator of the United States.

Governor Davis, known in Massachusetts to this day as "Honest John Davis," married Eliza Bancroft, eldest

¹Judge Davis's family has been honorably and prominently identified with this Society almost from its incorporation, Dr. Bancroft having been a Councillor and Vice-President from 1813 till 1831; Governor Davis, a Councillor, Vice-President, and President from 1824 till 1854; Mr. George Bancroft, Secretary for Domestic Correspondence and Vice-President from 1877 till 1891; and Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, a Councillor and Recording Secretary since 1904. The name of Mr. Horace Davis, another brother of our late associate, stands third in order of seniority on our Roll of Resident Members, his fellowship dating from April, 1862.

daughter of the Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft and his wife Lucretia Chandler, daughter of John Chandler. Judge Chandler was a wealthy Loyalist during the Revolution, who earned the sobriquet of "the Honest Refugee" by his honorable dealings with the British government and the modesty of his demands upon its treasury for compensation for his losses.

Bancroft Davis was prepared for college in the public schools of Worcester, and in 1836, before he was fourteen, entered Harvard with William Goodwin Russell, James Elliot Cabot, Joseph Henry Allen, Edward Holker Welch and others who, like himself, were destined to achieve distinction. Returning to Worcester, he became a student of law in the office of Charles Warren Hartshorn, and in 1843 was admitted to the bar, where he soon took high rank. Six years later he accepted the position of Secretary of Legation at London to which he was appointed by President Taylor on his accession to office. As Mr. Abbott Lawrence, the newly accredited minister to the Court of St. James, did not reach England till the autumn of 1849, Mr. Davis was *chargé d'affaires* for six months or more after the retirement of his uncle, Mr. George Bancroft, and before the arrival of Mr. Lawrence. "Apart from his more formal obligations, a felicitous speech made by Bancroft Davis at a dinner tendered by George Peabody to the American gentlemen connected with the famous Exposition of 1851 showed how admirably, upon the social side, the young man was discharging the duties of his office. The stay thus made in London under most favorable auspices was of signal advantage to Mr. Davis. Naturally an acute observer, he learned much of English politics and diplomatic affairs that enabled him to reach a correct estimate of the Englishman in public life."²

Returning home in 1852, Mr. Davis resumed the practice of law entering, in New York city, the firm of Kent, Eaton and Tailer, one member of which, Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, subsequently did valiant service in the cause of Civil Service Reform. Indulging his liking for literary pursuits and his desire to keep himself informed concerning European politics, he became a regular weekly correspondent of the *London*

²From a notice of Judge Davis in the *New York Evening Post* of 28 December, 1907, to which I acknowledge my indebtedness for other facts contained in this Obituary.

Times from 1854 to 1861, when he terminated his engagement because his Northern sympathies were not in accord with those of the management. In 1869 he sat in the New York Assembly for Newburgh; and later in the same year he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State and removed his residence to Washington, which was thenceforth his home. In 1870 he was chosen Arbitrator in the dispute between Great Britain and Portugal, concerning the island of Bulama, which had been referred for settlement to President Grant.

Through the influence of Secretary Fish, who held Mr. Davis's ability in high esteem, he was made Secretary of the Joint High Commission which met in Washington, in 1871, to negotiate a treaty for the settlement of the Alabama Claims. He was subsequently appointed Agent for the United States and prepared the "American Case" which was presented to the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva,—a State paper which of itself would have made its author famous. Mr. Caleb Cushing, one of the Counsel for the United States at Geneva, has said:

"It was my opinion on reading the American Case for the first time, and it is my opinion now, after repeated readings, that it is not only a document of signal ability, learning, and forensic force—which, indeed, everybody admits—but that it is also temperate in language and dignified in spirit, as becomes any State paper which is issued in the name of the United States . . . Its facts are pertinent; its reasonings are cogent; its conclusions are logical . . . Englishmen may criticise the American 'Case,' the labor of preparing which devolved chiefly on him [Mr. Davis]; but its indisputable merit should draw to him the applause of every American. His literary accomplishments, his previous diplomatic experience, his knowledge of men and things in Europe, and his devoted and untiring attention to the public interests, were singularly useful to the United States."³

The notice of Mr. Davis from which a quotation has already been made, contains the following passage:

"He went abroad in December, 1871, and managed with remarkable skill and fidelity the proceedings on behalf of the United States. At this post his powers were taxed to the utmost. At a crisis in the fate of the treaty, when, because

³The Treaty of Washington (1873), pp. 31, 95.

of the 'Indirect Claims,' it looked as though Great Britain would not proceed with the Arbitration, the conduct of Mr. Davis was calm and firm. Through his courage and sagacity the dignity of the United States was preserved, and the rights of the country maintained."

The following paragraph is taken from a letter of Mr. Frank Warren Hackett, one of the two surviving Americans who were officially connected with the Tribunal, which appeared in *The Nation* of 31 January, 1907.

"When put to the test Mr. Davis had the courage to assume any burden that it had become his duty to assume. It was the tact and the stamina of Bancroft Davis that in the presence of danger actually rescued the treaty from failure. The world may never know how large a measure of credit is due to the sagacity and the nerve of both Lord Tenterden and Bancroft Davis. Happily for England and for the United States, these two men believed each in the other. Mutual confidence and a unity of purpose enabled the Englishman and the American to work together in preparing a way by which the 'Indirect Claims' could honorably be disposed of, and the treaty saved. After these two men, upon their own responsibility, had struck hands, it was agreed that Mr. Davis should ask Mr. Adams to take the open and visible step leading to action by the Tribunal. Mr. Adams acted with equal skill. The disposition that was thereupon made of the subject matter which had threatened a rupture of the treaty, has now become familiar history. The great principle was then and there settled of the extent to which, in time of war, a neutral Government is liable for failure to observe its obligations to either belligerent. It was this initiative act, the honor of which belongs equally to the respective Agents, that constitutes the crowning merit of Bancroft Davis's inestimable services to his country."

After the final judgment of the Tribunal, Count Sclopis, its President, remarked: "It was the 'Case' prepared by Mr. Davis which won the cause."

After his return from Geneva, in 1873, Mr. Davis was again appointed Assistant Secretary of State, and he held the office till the following year when he was sent to Europe as envoy of the United States to Germany. Having fulfilled his mission at Berlin, he was appointed, in 1877, to the bench of the Court of Claims, from which he retired to accept, for a third time, in 1881, the office of Assistant Secretary of State. About a year later he was again com-

missioned a judge of the Court of Claims, but held the office for a short time only. In his decision of a case which had been appealed from the Court of Claims, Mr. Justice Field of the Supreme Court of the United States once paid Judge Davis the compliment of quoting with approval practically, if not actually, his entire opinion in the case. In 1883 he was appointed Reporter of Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and held this important place till 1902 when, at the age of eighty, and after a service of twenty years, he retired to private life.

In 1857 Mr. Davis was married to Miss Frederica Gore King, daughter of James Gore King of Weehawken, New Jersey. They had no children.

In 1887 Columbia University conferred on Mr. Davis the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mr. Davis became a prominent layman in the Protestant Episcopal Church and was often a delegate to its diocesan and general conventions. He wrote and published two pamphlets that are of interest to Episcopalians: *The Origin of the Book of Common Prayer*; and *The Place and Work of the Laity in the Church*.

Beside his Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court, which begin with Volume No. 108, and his Opinions in the Court of Claims, Mr. Davis was the author of *The Massachusetts Justice*; *History of Slavery in the United States*; *The Case of the United States Before the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva*; *Treaties and Conventions entered into by the United States, with Notes*; *Mr. Sumner, the Alabama Claims, and their Settlement*; *Tribunaux de Prises des Etats-Unis. Lettre à Sir Travers Twiss*; *Mr. Fish and the Alabama Claims*; and *The Centennial Appendix to the Reports of the United States Supreme Court*.

H. H. E.

Andrew Jackson George was born at Goffstown, N. H., February 16, 1855, and was graduated from Amherst College in 1876. He taught in the high schools of Ashland and Brookline, Mass., and later became head of the English department in the Newton high school, a position which he filled with notable success for more than twenty years. He was a keen student and an indefatigable collector of literary materials; the walls of his class-room were crowded

with pictures and documents which did much to vivify his teaching. It is said that a unique feature of his work in Newton was "the establishment of literature classes for parents to enable them to study with pleasure and profit what their sons and daughters were interested in at school."

For the year 1887-8, Mr. George was acting professor of English in Boston University. At the opening of Clark College in 1902, he organized the department of English, and the following year was made assistant professor of English, but resigned in 1904 to devote his strength to his school duties in Newton and to literary activities.

In addition to his work in the class-room, Professor George became well known as an editor of English and American classics, a score or more of such studies having come from his hand. Amherst College conferred on him the degree of Litt. D., in 1903. He was elected to membership in this Society in 1900. He died in Brookline, Mass., December 27, 1907, leaving a wife (née Alice Nelson Vant) and one son.

S. U.

Edward Gaylord Bourne was born at Strykersville, N. Y.; on June 24, 1860, the son of the Rev. James Russell and Isabella Staples Bourne. On the paternal side he was a direct descendant of Richard Bourne of Sandwich, who labored as a missionary among the Indians, and through his mother he came from men of the Plymouth Colony and the Mayflower.

He was prepared for college at the Norwich Academy, Connecticut, and graduated from Yale College with the class of 1883. During his college course he displayed many of the traits which characterized his later life—skill in tutoring his classmates, a studious disposition, and an inclination to almost omnivorous reading, which stored his retentive memory with the wide range of information that was a constant surprise to his friends. His chief interest was in the study of the classics until the later part of the curriculum turned him towards economics and history. In his graduate studies at Yale his attention was still divided between these two fields, and his earliest published work was in the border land between them: *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837* (N. Y. 1885.), which had been originally submitted for a university prize.

In 1886 he began a two years' service as instructor in history at Yale, and from there he went to a similar position in Adelbert College. There he was made professor in 1890, in which position he continued until he was called back to Yale in 1895, at first to a chair in modern European history. While at Adelbert he completed the requirements for the doctor's degree and received it from Yale in 1892. After two years of service in European history, he was transferred to American history which was essentially his proper field of work. He had early become a member of the American Historical Association, and he felt great interest in the service which he was called upon to render it, as member of its council and as chairman for a time of its Historical Manuscripts Commission. He was made a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1903, and he was also a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Perhaps the most characteristic of Mr. Bourne's published writings is the long series of articles which he contributed to various periodicals, beginning in 1893 with a study on the Demarcation Line of Pope Alexander VI, and continuing with an average of more than one each year till the last, the paper which he read at the April meeting of this society in 1906, on *Columbus, Ramon Pane, and the Beginnings of American Anthropology*. These papers are all marked by what is his peculiar trait as a scholar, a remarkably keen critical insight and judgment. The most important of those which had appeared at that date were collected in the volume entitled *Essays in Historical Criticism*, published in 1901 in the Yale Bicentennial Series. His editorial work, of which a good example is his *Voyages of Columbus and John Cabot* in the *Original Narratives of Early American History* edited by Prof. J. F. Jameson, is equally thorough and critical. His volume on *Spain in America*, contributed to the *American Nation* series, and republished in Spanish translation in Havana, though one of the best written and most original of the volumes in that series, must seem to all who knew him well, promise rather than fulfillment, promise of what he might yet do in large constructive work if his life could have been spared. To all Mr. Bourne's intimate friends, his writings, however critical, exhibit the kindly disposition and absence of self-assertion which were constant traits of his character.

From his childhood Mr. Bourne had suffered from a tuberculous disease of the hip, which, however, for many years had given him little annoyance and had not been considered by his physicians to threaten any immediate danger. But overwork for two or three years and anxiety connected with the illness and death of his father brought on a more serious phase of the trouble in the summer of 1906, and from that time until his death, on February 24, 1908, he maintained a slowly failing struggle against the disease, in which one of less vigorous constitution and less courageous spirit would have earlier succumbed.

Mr. Bourne was married, July 17, 1895, to Miss Annie Thompson Nettleton of Stockbridge, Mass., who survives him, together with five children.

UNCLE SAM.

BY ALBERT MATTHEWS.

Arising in obscure ways, often originating in derision or abuse or satire, sometimes repudiated by those to whom they are applied, at other times adopted in spite of the ridicule, the origin of nicknames is singularly elusive, and there are few words or phrases of which it is more difficult to trace the history. Moreover, nicknames are almost invariably associated in the popular mind with some person or place or thing having a similar name; and so a problem already difficult is made doubly so by the necessity of attempting to obtain information about very obscure persons. The history of nicknames usually follows one general course: those who, at the time of origin, perhaps know the real explanation, fail to record it, and then, a generation or so having passed by and the true origin having been forgotten, a series of guesses is indulged in.

In Yankee, Brother Jonathan, and Uncle Sam, we Americans have perhaps more than our fair share of national sobriquets; and we are, so far as I am aware, the only nation to the government of which a sobriquet has been given in distinction from the people. For while Uncle Sam has occasionally been applied to us as a nation, its use is almost wholly restricted to our government. What has been said above about the popular tendency to connect nicknames with persons is well illustrated in all of our national sobriquets. When the history of Yankee comes to be written, it will be found necessary to consider a famous pirate who was the terror of the Spanish Main in the seventeenth century; a negro who lived in South Carolina in 1725; several members of a family which was well known in Cambridge, Massachusetts, during the eighteenth century; the Yankooos,

an imaginary tribe of Indians invented in 1775 for the purpose of explaining a word which then first came into general use in this country; and Yankee as a family name. The history of Brother Jonathan involves an inquiry into an alleged English poet of the seventeenth century; a London coffee-house of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries named Jonathan's; Jonathan Hastings, a tanner who lived in Cambridge early in the eighteenth century; Jonathan Carver, the noted traveller; and Jonathan Trumbull, the distinguished Governor of Connecticut.¹ And in Uncle Sam we are confronted with a similar problem—this time an alleged contractor and inspector named Samuel Wilson, who lived in Troy during the first half of the nineteenth century. The story connecting Uncle Sam with Samuel Wilson first appeared in print, so far as is known, in 1842, and no example of the term earlier than 1840 has until now ever been cited.²

Before considering the Samuel Wilson story, let us see what the history of the term Uncle Sam has actually been. For sixty-six years the statement has been repeated that the nickname arose at the outbreak of the war of 1812, varied occasionally by the assertion that the term originated during the Revolutionary War. Both statements are incorrect, as the term is not known to have been used until the war of 1812 was half over; but the nickname certainly did originate during that war.³ Moreover, for a year or so

¹ See Brother Jonathan, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, VII, 94-122.

² "She was called Catalina, and, like all other vessels in that trade, except the Ayacucho, her papers and colors were from Uncle Sam" (Two Years before the Mast, 1841, p. 168). This extract is quoted in Farmer and Henley's Slang and its Analogues (1904), where it is dated 1835. The preface to Dana's book is dated July, 1840. Uncle Sam was first recognized in 1848 in Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, whence it found its way into the 1860 edition of Worcester and into subsequent dictionaries.

³ The term does not appear in the following books, where, if known at all or in general use, it would be certain to turn up: J. K. Paulding, The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, by Hector Bull-us, 1812; The Beauties of Brother Bull-us, by his loving Sister Bull-a, 1812 (a reply to Paulding's book); W. Dunlap, Yankee Chronology, 1812; The Wars of the Gulls, 1812; Paulding, The United States and England, 1814; The Reviewers Reviewed, 1815; D. Humphrey, The Yankey in England, 1815. The first appearance of the term in a book was in The Adventures of Uncle Sam, 1816. See p. 40, below. Besides these books, political skits (written largely in Biblical language) were not uncommon in the

it was avoided by those who favored the war, and was employed only by those who opposed the war. Hence the term was at first apparently used somewhat derisively. In order to understand how this could have been the case, it will be necessary to glance at some of the manifestations of the war.

We are all so familiar with the causes, events, and consequences of the war of 1812, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here; yet some passages from contemporary newspapers will perhaps give us a more vivid impression of the thoughts and feelings engendered by that contest than will the formal writings of learned historians. An editorial note headed with the historic words "Era of Good Feelings," which appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 12, 1817, began as follows: "During the late Presidential Jubilee many persons have met at festive boards, in pleasant converse, whom party politics had long severed. We recur with pleasure to all the circumstances which attended the demonstrations of good feelings" (p. 2-3). To us of the present day, who take our politics more calmly, it is not easy to understand the furor and turmoil which characterized the war of 1812. But if political warfare nowadays is less abusive and vituperative than it was a century ago, as is certainly the case, yet also it is distinctly less picturesque. Is it possible that in the matter of nicknames, we Americans have lost our inventive capacity? What has there been in the past decade to match "Father of his Country," "Old Hickory," "Mill Boy of the Slashes," "Old Man Eloquent," "Tippecanoe," "Old Bullion," "Rail-splitter," "Plumed Knight," and scores of other sobriquets that will readily occur to all? It is true that the nicknames which were so commonly bestowed during the war of 1812 were chiefly satirical; but on that very account they are the more valuable for our present purpose.

newspapers. See *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), November 7, 1812, p. 1-3; *The Yankee* (Boston), August 13, 1813, p. 2-2; *Portsmouth Oracle*, February 26, 1814, p. 3-1; *Columbian Centinel*, March 2, 1814, p. 1-2. While John Bull, Brother Jonathan, and John Codline (that is, New Englanders) figure in these skits, there is no allusion to Uncle Sam. It may be added that in his *Jonathan Bull* and *Mary Bull*, written in 1821, Madison makes no mention of Uncle Sam.

In a speech delivered in Congress on January 24, 1812, David R. Williams said: "Sir, I feel a deadly hate against Great Britain. Yes, sir, if the red artillery of Heaven were in my hands, I'd soon drive the fast anchored isle from her moorings."⁴ Immediately Williams was nicknamed "Mr. Thunderbolt Williams," "thunder-and-lightning Williams," "Jupiter Williams," "thunder & lightning David;" and his words lingered in the popular mind for fourteen years at least.⁵ War with England was declared June 18, 1812. In a proclamation dated June 26, Governor Caleb Strong of Massachusetts spoke of "the nation from which we are descended, and which for many generations has been the bulwark of the religion we profess."⁶ At once "the bulwark of our religion" and "Bulwark Strong" became bywords in the war papers.⁷ In a speech delivered in Congress on January 5, 1813, Josiah Quincy said:

"An armistice was proposed by them. It was refused by us. It was acceded to by the American general, on the frontiers. It was rejected by the cabinet. . . . They renewed hostilities. They rushed upon Canada. Nothing would satisfy them but blood. The language of their conduct is that of the giant, in the legends of infancy.

*Fee, Faw, Foo, Fum,
I smell the blood of an Englishman,
Dead, or alive, I will have some.*"⁸

⁴ *View of the State of Parties in the United States* (second edition, 1812), p. 159. The author of this work gives January 21, as the date of Williams's speech. The true date is January 24. See the *Connecticut Courant* of February 5, 1812, p. 2-3.

⁵ See *Connecticut Courant*, January 12, 1813, p. 3-4; *Portsmouth Oracle*, June 26, 1813, p. 2-5; *Columbian Centinel*, August 7, 1813, p. 2-4; *New York Herald*, August 31, 1814, p. 1-5; *The Yankee in London*, 1826, p. 96. "General David R. Williams," said the *Portsmouth Oracle* of January 8, 1814, "commonly called thunder and lightning David, has resigned his command, without sinking the fast anchored island" (p. 4-1). In the *Lansingburgh Gazette* of December 27, 1814, appeared the following: "'Thunder & lightning' Williams, formerly a member of Congress, and lately for about a month a brigadier-general, is elected Governor of South Carolina" (p. 3-3).

⁶ *New England Palladium*, June 30, 1812, p. 1.

⁷ Even as late as March 15, 1823, the expression was still remembered. See *Niles' Register* of that date, XXIV, 32.

⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, February 3, 1813, p. 2-1. See also Quincy's *Speeches* delivered in the Congress of the United States (1874), pp. 389, 390. In Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History* (1902) will be found reproduced a caricature of Quincy, described as follows:

"In one caricature he was called 'Josiah the First,' and had upon his breast, as the decoration of an order, crossed codfishes, in allusion to his persistent defence

The man who later was commemorated by Lowell in an essay entitled "A Great Public Character," was, during the war of 1812, known as "Mr. Fum"⁹ or "Orator Fum,"¹⁰ and we read of "the degrading doctrine inculcated by 'fee, fo, fi, fum' federalists."¹¹ John Adams was "Duke of Braintree"¹² and "Old Brimborion."¹³ John Armstrong, who was made Secretary of War in January, 1813, was nicknamed "Duke of Newburgh," in allusion to the famous Newburgh Addresses of 1783.¹⁴ Jefferson was called "Tall

of the New England fisheries. He was also called 'King' because of his political domination in New England. In the caricature his coat was scarlet, his waistcoat brown, his breeches light green, and his stockings white. In a space near the head, in the original, were the words, 'I, Josiah the First, do, by this royal proclamation, announce myself King of New England, Nova Scotia, and Passamaquoddy, Grand Master of the noble order of the Two Codfishes' " (VII, 358).

⁹ *Military Monitor* (New York), July 12, 1813, I, 363.

¹⁰ *Aurora* (Philadelphia), October 25, 1813, p. 2-3. The following toast was given at Passyunk in 1813: "Governor Strong and Orator Fum—two peas of a pod. 3 Groans!" (*Aurora*, July 12, 1813, p. 2-5).

¹¹ *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), September 30, 1813, p. 2-3. In connection with Quincy, it is perhaps worth while to quote the following, for the sake of what is apparently an unrecorded use of the term hand organ: "THE *Virginia Argus*—one of Mr. MADISON's hand organs—calls upon the Federalists of the North to abandon QUINCY" (*Columbian Centinel*, August 29, 1812, p. 1-5).

¹² *Columbian Centinel*, November 4, 1812, p. 2-4.

¹³ *Columbian Centinel*, October 28, 1812, p. 1-4.

¹⁴ The two anonymous Addresses or Letters, as they are sometimes called, written in March, 1783, will be found in A Collection of Papers, relative to Half-Pay and Commutation of Half-Pay, Granted by Congress to the Officers of the Army, Fish-Kill, 1783, pp. 16-21.

In the *Columbian Centinel* of July 22, 1812, "Brutus" asked: "As a friend to liberty and republicanism, I wish to inquire whether Mr. Armstrong lately made a Brigadier General in our army by President Madison, is the same man, who has been supposed to have written the letters to the army in 1783, advising them to retain their arms, till they had forced the civil authorities to comply with their demands, and compensated themselves by plundering the innocent and defenceless citizens?" (p. 2-3). In the *New York Herald* of January 20, 1813, is the following: "*New Secretary at War*.—Gen. Armstrong's appointment has passed the Senate by a majority of three. Yesterday we mentioned that a Captain Jones of Philadelphia, was appointed *Secretary of the Navy*. So that we have for a Secretary of the Navy a man who headed a Philadelphia mob, to encourage the administration to pursue the war, and a Secretary of the Army, a man who exerted his best abilities to induce the heroes of the revolution to turn their arms against their own country. Nothing was wanting to complete the administration but a man for Secretary of the Treasury who once headed a rebellion, and they have him in Albert Gallatin" (p. 1-2). William Jones was the new Secretary of the Navy. In the *New York Herald* of September 3, 1813, is an extract taken from the *Federal Republican* (of Washington): "*Appointments-in-petto*—BOMBASTICO INCHIQUIN to be Attorney General, vice MARQUIS OF WHITEWASH, so long inimical in the cabinet to secretary Mars. —Note: this nomination can only be read, at present, by a *Rush*-light. Brigadier-General BOANERGES to be Secretary of War, vice DUKE OF NEWBURGH, to be removed under the standing rescript of the Virginia dynasty" (p. 4-2). "Bombastico

Tommy,"¹⁵ "Thomas the Magician,"¹⁶ and "Thomas Conundrum."¹⁷ President Madison was "Little Jemmy,"¹⁸ "King James" or "King Jemmy,"¹⁹ "James the Great,"²⁰ and "Mundungus,"²¹ and was referred to as "James the First Emperor of the Virginians and King of the United States."²² Timothy Pickering was "Uncle Tim."²³ On November 10, 1812, General Alexander Smyth issued a

Inchiquin" was Charles J. Ingersoll, author of *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters* (1810); the "Marquis of Whitewash" was apparently William Pinckney; "Rush-light" is an allusion to Richard Rush; while the identity of "Brigadier General Boanerges" escapes me.

Satirical allusions to the "Virginia dynasty" were long common in the Northern newspapers. In the *Columbian Centinel* of February 6, 1813, a correspondent said: "I WAS one of those who predicted in the year 1801, that the *Virginia* dynasty, which was at that time coming into power therein ever after to remain, would violate the Public Faith then pledged to the public creditors" (p. 2-1). See also *New York Evening Post*, November, 1812, p. 2-5; *Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1812, 2-3; *Columbian Centinel*, June 4, 1814, p. 2-3.

¹⁵ A satirical poem called "An Intercepted Letter, from Tall Tommy to Little Jemmy" appeared in the *Salem Gazette* of November 3, 1814, p. 4-1.

¹⁶ "And it came to pass . . . that there arose a mighty man in the land, called Thomas, the Magician, on account of his great skill and cunning in dark and mysterious projects" (*Adventures of Uncle Sam*, 1812, p. 10).

¹⁷ *The Yankee* in London, 1826, p. 9.

¹⁸ See note 15, above.

¹⁹ *New York Herald*, April 16, 1814, p. 4-1.

²⁰ *Connecticut Courant*, January 19, 1813, p. 3-1.

²¹ "The reins of government were now held by Mundungus, the great tetrarch of the nation, the apostle and successor of the great Conundrum" (*The Yankee* in London, 1826, p. 93).

²² *Portsmouth Oracle*, August 27, 1814, p. 2-2. In the *Columbian Centinel* of January 26, 1814, appeared these lines (p. 4-1):

"Then, soon will the Country submit to the thing
Which we wanted—to make MADISON King!"

²³ A poetical skit entitled "All Tories Together," which appeared in the *Aurora* of October 7, 1813, began thus (p. 2-5):

"Oh! come in true jacobin trim,
With birds of the same color'd feather,
Bring your plots and intrigues, uncle TIM,
And let's all be tories together."

In the *Northern Centinel* (Burlington, Vermont) of December 3, 1813, appeared the following: "But, the bold *benevolents* of Vermont have lately smuggled from the enemy a Governor of the true British stamp, and have placed him upon the throne of State. This must eclipse the boasted feats of *Bulwark Strong*, *Uncle Tim*, and *Fi-to-fum*, these three champions, will need something more than their own sagacity, to place them again in the front rank of toryism, nothing short of their smuggling out the duke of York and Mrs. Clark can raise these eastern heroes to a level with his Majesty's brave subjects in Vermont" (p. 3-3). The allusion is to the recent election by the Legislature, there having been no election by the people, of Martin Chittenden as Governor of Vermont. By "benevolents" are meant members of the Washington Benevolent Societies, then common.

proclamation,²⁴ whereupon it was said that "during this time Gen. *Proclamation* curvetted about."²⁵ General James

²⁴ The proclamation, dated "Camp near Buffalo," is printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of November 25, 1812, p. 2-4. A parody on the proclamation, ending as follows, was printed in the *Albany Gazette* of December 3, 1812 (p. 3-4):

"And thus I close my message with
The NAME of ALEXANDER SMYTH !
A GEN'RAL, Brigadier, Inspector,
Commander, Conq'r'r, and Protector—
Whose 'Brook's black reg'ment' ne'er did fear yet,
In camp at Buffalo, or near it."

Sir Isaac Brock, to whom Hull had capitulated, was killed at Queenston on October 13, 1812.

The boasting proclamations issued by the American generals were a constant source of ridicule in the peace papers. In his proclamation of July 12, 1812, General Hull said: "Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for any contingency—I have a force that will look down all opposition, and that force is but a vanguard of a much greater" (*Columbian Centinel*, August 5, 1812, p. 1-4). The *Portsmouth Oracle* of September 8, 1812, spoke of Hull's proclamation "to look down opposition" in Canada (p. 3-4). The *Connecticut Courant* of December 22, 1812, said that Hull "issued a look down proclamation to the affrighted Canadians" (p. 1-4). The *Mankus Times*, quoted in the *New England Palladium* of October 22, 1813, stated that "The Proclamation campaign has again commenced upon the Niagara frontiers" (p. 2-1). In the *Salem Gazette* of December 3, 1813, appeared the following: "The same Collectors will be employed next winter to execute the same duties in the Moon, which, it is expected, will be 'looked down' during the next campaign!" (p. 3-2).

On August 16, 1812, Hull ignominiously gave up himself, his army, and Detroit, and incidentally enriched the language with a new verb. The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, of Lincoln at Charleston, and of Cornwallis at Yorktown, had given rise to the words "Burgoyne," "to Burgoyne," "Lincolnade," and "Cornwalisade." The *Connecticut Courant* of September 22, 1812, said: "Should Gen. Dearborn enter the territory, he ought, if he means not to be Hull'd, or defeated, to have 25 or 30,000 men" (p. 3-4). The *Military Monitor* of October 5, 1812, quoted the following from the *Aurora*: "These facts show the absurdity of the idea of a force of 4,000 men marching to be Hull-ed, in a country where 19,000 of their countrymen were once before Burgoyne" (I, 59). The *New Hampshire Gazette* of April 20, 1813, remarked: "From every section of the union, we hear of the march of troops and active preparations to open the campaign on the northern frontier with vigor and unless our gallant army is again *Hulled*, the British flag will soon disappear from Canada" (p. 3-2). The *New York Herald* of March 30, 1814, quoted the following from a Herkimer (New York) paper: "The prevailing opinion now is, that the campaign will be opened at Niagara; some suppose Detroit. If at the latter place, with the paltry force now marching in that direction, we shall most certainly get *Hull'd*" (p. 3-5).

²⁵ *Columbian Centinel*, December 16, 1812 (p. 2-2). The following is taken from the *Yankee* (Boston) of December 18, 1812 (p. 3-2):

"General Smyth—again.

"How many Militia and Volunteers, with such Generals as Hull, Smyth, et cetera, will conquer Canada?

"A Yankee answer by another question—How many snow balls will heat an oven?"

Wilkinson was called "Don" or "Don Jamie," in allusion to Don Quixote.²⁶

Besides these nicknames applied to persons, there were several epithets which were employed to designate a class. Those who favored the war were called "Wildcats,"²⁷ "War-dogs,"²⁸ "War-hirelings,"²⁹ "War-men,"³⁰ and "War-sharks,"³¹ but the favorite term was "War-hawks." Under the head of "Political Intoxication," the following appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of February 19, 1812 (p. 4-1):

"OUR War-Hawks when pot valiant grown,
Could they the British King dethrone,
Would sacrifice a man a day;—
To me the reason's very plain,
Why toppers talk in such a strain—
They want a double* Can-a-day.

*Upper and Lower."

"The noisy and vociferous demagogues and war hawks," said the *Portland Gazette*, "and office hunters in this vicinity, . . . have never once slept out of their beds of down, or paid

In the *Columbian Centinel* of December 23, 1812, appeared the following (p. 2-3):
"A letter from Albany, says, 'All the Generals from Canada are extremely mortified and crest-fallen. The boys at Buffalo form themselves into groups, and sing the following altered stanza of Yankee Doodle:—

"When SMITH a Bragadier had got,
He prov'd a darned coward—
He durst not go to Canada
For fear of being devoured.
Yankee doodle, doodle do—
Yankee doodle dandy—
Mind the back step of the march—
And with your legs be handy.'"

²⁶ *Salem Gazette*, May 3, 1814 (p. 2-4). In the *Salem Gazette* of November 25, 1813, appeared a paragraph headed "Braggardless! Wilkinson's Glorious Expedition to Canada!" (p. 2-2). The unsuccessful expedition into Canada gave rise to an epigram printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of December 11, 1813:

"Gen. WILKINSON's late Expedition.
WITH Conquest how his bosom burn'd!—
He went—he saw—and then—return'd."

²⁷ "Some of the Wildcats of Congress," said the *Columbian Centinel* of June 6, 1812, "have gone home, unable to incur the awful responsibility of unnecessary War" (p. 2-5).

²⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, October 23, 1813, p. 2-1; June 29, 1814, p. 2-3.

²⁹ *Columbian Centinel*, June 18, 1814, p. 2-3.

³⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, June 11, 1814, p. 2-4.

³¹ *Columbian Centinel*, September 1, 1813, p. 2-1.

a single cent from their pockets, in support of their darling war."⁸²

The "War-hawks" retaliated by calling the peace men "Tories" and likening them to the Loyalists of the Revolution. "The war-hawks of that vicinity," said the *New York Evening Post* of October 28, 1812, "came to his house and began abusing him with the usual slang of *Federalist*, *old Tory*, &c." (p. 2-4).

Nowhere was the depth of popular feeling more clearly shown than in the toasts that were offered at the various dinners which were so freely partaken of on the Fourth of July and on other occasions. Such dinners would now seem somewhat provincial, but they were exceedingly common late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries, and no doubt they were of service in fostering the spirit of nationality.⁸³

The following toasts were given in 1812. At Philadelphia: "May the tories of N. England repent—or be

⁸² Quoted in the supplement to the *Albany Gazette* of November 19, 1812 (p. 1-1). The term was sometimes used attributively. Thus we hear of "the War-Hawk Government" (*Columbian Centinel*, September 28, 1814, p. 1-2); of "the war-hawk party" (*Portsmouth Oracle*, January 28, 1815, p. 3-2); of "the War-Hawk rulers" (*Columbian Centinel*, September 28, 1814, p. 1-2); and of "our War-Hawk Selectmen" (*Connecticut Courant*, August 16, 1814, p. 1-5).

⁸³ In a speech on the admission of the Territory of Orleans, delivered in Congress on January 14, 1811, Josiah Quincy declared it as his "deliberate opinion that, if this bill passes, . . . it will be the duty of some" of the States "to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably, if they can; violently, if they must" (*Speeches*, 1874, p. 196). While this remark has become historic, it is almost invariably misquoted. In a speech made in Congress on January 8, 1813, Henry Clay, referring to Quincy, said: "The gentleman can not have forgotten his own sentiments, uttered even on the floor of this House, 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must'" (*Works*, 1897, V, 58). It is the Clay version that has become a familiar quotation.

In the *Boston Herald* of November 23, 1904, appeared the following:

"In a signed article in the Huntsville, Ala., *Mercury*, R. T. Bentley, a well-known man, says:

"It appearing that Theodore Roosevelt, the head and front of the republican party, which represents the dangerous policies of civilization, protective tariff, imperialism and social equality, has been elected president of the United States by a strictly sectional vote, and has established an insurmountable barrier between the north and south, I feel constrained to express my humble opinion, as a true and patriotic American citizen of the south, that if the republican party should continue its dangerous policies for the next 4 yrs. and should triumph in the next national election, that the 13 states which voted for A. B. Parker should secede from the union and by force of arms resist an oppression which means the early fall of our great republic."

At the present day such a statement merely excites amusement, as no one takes it seriously; but in 1812 it was different.

ports—time—three seconds—destination—*‘the fast anchored isle.’*”⁴¹

In 1814 were given the following toasts. At Belfast, Maine: “The War-Hawks and Vultures at Washington:—Having *usurped* the place of the towering Eagle, may they be *expelled* from the capitol, with their *wings clipped* and a label about their necks, to the *wilds of Kentucky*, the *native haunts* of birds of prey.”⁴² At Scituate, Massachusetts: “*The President of the United States*—Respect for the office, but contempt for the incumbent—an immediate resignation his first duty—the Island of Elba his last retreat.”⁴³ At Hudson, New York: “*Massachusetts*—British influence but poor bait for Codfish—may she let down her net the right side of the Ship.”⁴⁴ At Winchendon, Massachusetts: “*James I. of America*.—In the imitation of his prototype may he soon be compelled by the voice of the people to abdicate in favour of a rightful heir.—3 *cheers*.”⁴⁵ At

⁴¹ *Military Monitor*, April 5, 1813, I, 254. The following amusing paragraph may be quoted here: “*Remarkable Incident*.—On the 4th of July, 1812, General CHANDLER gave as a toast at Augusta:—‘The 4th of July 1813—May we on that day drink wine within the walls of Quebec!’ On this same 4th of July he was within the walls of Quebec (a prisoner) and from the known hospitality of the citizens of that place we have no doubt his wish was literally gratified” (*Columbian Centinel*, July 7, 1813, p. 2-4).

⁴² *Columbian Centinel*, March 9, 1814, p. 2-2.

⁴³ *Columbian Centinel*, July 9, 1814, p. 1-5.

⁴⁴ *Bee* (Hudson), July 12, 1814, p. 3-3.

⁴⁵ *Massachusetts Spy*, July 20, 1814, p. 3-2. It is curious to see how history repeats itself. Between 1908 and his death, President McKinley was sometimes alluded to as “William I.” In the *Boston Herald* of January 28, 1907, we read of “Kaiser Theodore,” and in the same paper of November 11, 1907, of “Theodore I.” Just as Monroe was alluded to in 1814 as “the heir apparent,” so now the same term is applied to Secretary Taft. See *Nation*, August 22, 1907, LXXXV, 153; *Boston Herald*, November 6, 1907, p. 6-5; *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 2, 1907; *Boston Herald*, March 3, 1908, p. 6-3. Even the word “imperial” is not new to our politics. In the *New York Herald* of May 5, 1813, it was satirically said that “the bewilderment of the enemy, on beholding our imperial standard, baffles all description” (p. 2-4).

Two examples of the spreadeagleism of the times will prove amusing. The following toast was given at Waterville, Maine, on July 4, 1815: “*The Eagle of the United States*—‘May she extend her wings from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific*; and fixing her talons on the *Isthmus of Darien*, stretch with her beak to the *Northern Pole*’” (*Salem Gazette*, July 18, 1815, p. 4-1). Capt. Ross Bird of the United States Army having been placed under arrest and bereft of his sword, he sent in his resignation, in part as follows: “In leaving the service, I am not abandoning the cause of republicanism, but yet hope to brandish the glittering steel in the field, and carve my way to a name which shall prove my country’s neglect; and when this mortal part shall be closetted in the dust, and the soul shall wing its flight for the regions

New York: "*Timothy Pickering*.—'A greater liar Parthia never bred.' "46

It is clear that every one was in an irritated frame of mind, the merest trifle being sufficient to arouse bitter feelings, and even to cause men to come to actual blows. Duel after duel was fought by those in the upper classes of society—whether military, naval, or civil; and even among respectable people hand to hand fights seem occasionally to have taken place.⁴⁷ To add to the general irritation, several especially unpopular laws were enacted. An act laying direct and other taxes was approved by President Madison on July 30, and went into effect on December 25,

above, in passing by the palefaced moon, I shall hang my hat upon brilliant Mars, and make a report to each superlative star—and arriving at the portals of Heaven's high Chancery, shall demand of the attending Angel to be ushered into the presence of Washington" (*New York Herald*, November 10, 1813, p. 1-3).

⁴⁶ *New York Herald*, July 13, 1814, p. 1-1.

⁴⁷ Two may be specified. The following is taken from the *New York Herald* of April 10, 1813: "*Fracas at Albany*.—By the passengers in the Steam Boat we are informed, that a fracas took place in Albany last Wednesday [April 7], between Col. Peter B. Porter and John Lovett, Esq., occasioned by some publications which have been made relative to the affair between Col. S. Van Rensselaer and Col. Porter. It is said Col. Porter, after some high words had passed, attacked Mr. Lovett with a cane, on which Mr. Lovett closed in with him and was like to demolish him, when some of the by-standers interfered and put an end to the contest" (p. 3-2).

The other case, curiously enough, concerns a man of whom we shall hear later in connection with the alleged origin of Uncle Sam. In the *Albany Gazette* of September 20, 1813, appeared this (p. 3-4):

"The following note has been handed to us by Mr. Butler—We do not intend to prejudice the cause of dispute by its insertion. The *Gazette* will be freely open to Mr. Anderson.

"ELBERT ANDERSON, Jun. Contractor U. S. Army, is a base Villain, a Liar and a Coward.

James BUTLER.

"18th September, 1813."

Anderson and Butler apparently had a hand to hand scrimmage at Plattsburgh, for in the *Albany Gazette* of September 30, 1813, was printed a communication in part as follows (p. 3-3):

"*Albany*, 28th, Sept. 1813.

"Messrs. WEBSTERS and SKINNERS,

"A publication having appeared in your paper, during the absence of the Contractor, signed 'James Butler,' a friend to the former gentleman, who was an eye witness to the fracas at Plattsburgh, requests you to publish the following statement from the *Plattsburgh Republican*, of the 18th inst. . . .

"A rash man has applied to the Contractor for the Army, epithets of a libellous and scurrilous nature. . . .

"*Plattsburgh*, Sept. 15, 1813."

So far as I have noted, the incident closed with the publication in the *Albany Gazette* of October 4, 1813, of a card from Butler dated Lansingburgh, September 29, stating that the writer of the above letter was "an infamous liar" (p. 3-2).

1813.⁴⁸ In a Worcester paper of December 22, 1813, appeared the following:

"*The New Army*—The tax-gathering campaign is about opening, and will undoubtedly be both brilliant and successful, as the army of assessors and collectors is very numerous and ably supported by the strong arm of the government.—This patriotic band of harpies will unquestionably acquit themselves with great skill and adroitness in diving to the bottom of the farmers' pockets and filching away the hard-earnings of many a tedious day."⁴⁹

Long before this, however, there had been clashes between United States custom house officers and others. A communication dated Portland, Massachusetts,⁵⁰ May 28, 1813, beginning with the statement that "A most daring infringement of the laws took place here upon the evening of the 25th," went on to describe the seizure of goods by custom house officers, who were set upon by smugglers, the latter making off with the goods.⁵¹ In September, 1813, what is described as "a battle" took place at Granville, New York, on the borders of Vermont, between United States custom house officers and officials of New York.

Meanwhile, however, we get our first glimpse of Uncle Sam. An article half a column in length, headed "For the Troy Post," was printed in that paper of September 7, 1813, and began as follows:

"'Loss upon loss, and no ill luck stirring [*sic*] but what lights upon UNCLE SAM'S shoulders,' exclaim the Government editors, in every part of the Country. The Albany *Argus* of last Tuesday laments the disasters and disappointments of our Border War, in most pathetic strains &c. &c."

In a note is given this explanation:

"This cant name for our government has got almost as current as 'John Bull.' The letters U. S. on the government waggons, &c are supposed to have given rise to it" (p. 3-3).

⁴⁸ See *New Hampshire Gazette*, September 14, 21, 1813; *New York Herald*, August 25, 28, 1813; *Columbian Centinel*, December 25, 1813.

⁴⁹ *Massachusetts Spy*, December 22, 1813, p. 1-3.

⁵⁰ It will be remembered that until 1820 Maine was part of Massachusetts.

⁵¹ Quoted in the *National Intelligencer* (Washington), June 8, 1813, p. 2-3.

In the *Lansingburgh Gazette* of late in September or possibly October 1, 1813, appeared the following:

"*Land Privateering*.—The following is a short sketch of a recent battle, under the act²³ to encourage land-privateering, between what are called in this part of the country, *Uncle Sam's Men* and the *Men of New-York*.—On Friday se'nnight, a quantity of goods were seized pursuant to the act aforesaid, by a custom house officer at Granville, in Washington county, under the pretence that they had been smuggled from Canada. On the Monday succeeding the owner obtained a writ of replevin, and the sheriff, after meeting with some opposition, succeeded, in possessing himself of the goods, according to the laws of this state. *Uncle Sam's Men*, however, feeling little disposition to be deprived of their booty in this manner, (for secure as they thought of the whole, they had *plundered* but a small part of the goods,) raised a band of war hawks, and attempted a rescue. The sherriff called the posse of the neighborhood to his assistance, and the parties being nearly equal, altho' the war-hawks were rather the most numerous, a battle royal ensued. It was long and obstinately contested; but ended in the complete discomfiture of *Uncle Sam's* party, who retired from the conflict, marked with many a broken head and bruised limb, leaving the *Men of New-York* in possession of the field of battle and the goods."²⁴

In a communication dated Burlington, Vermont, October 1, 1813, appeared the following:

"The *patriotic* Volunteers, who have *marched* here to guard the public stores in the absence of the regular army, are taking '*long furloughs*,' and volunteering for *home* by tens and fifties, and hundreds.—The pretence is, that *Uncle Sam*, the now popular explication of the U. S. does not pay well; and that the cold begins to pinch."²⁵

From a paper published at Herkimer, New York, on January 27, 1814, is taken the following:

" '*Uncle Sam's* ' *hard bargains*. —On Thursday afternoon of last week, about thirty sleighs, '*more or less*'²⁶ loaded with

²³ I do not know what act is meant.

²⁴ Quoted in the *New York Herald*, October 2, 1813, p. 3-3. I have been unable to find a copy of the *Lansingburgh Gazette* containing the extract.

²⁵ Quoted in the *Columbian Centinel*, October 9, 1813, p. 2-3.

²⁶ The words "*more or less*" apparently occurred in the official accounts of the capture of York in April, 1813, but I have not been able to discover in exactly what connection. At all events, they caused much fun in the peace papers. "One

the 'weak and wounded, sick and sore' of our armies on the frontiers, passed through this village for Greenbush. Never before have we beheld such a picture. Half-naked, half-frozen, and by their looks half-starved: some with and some without legs, others upon crutches, or supporting each other from falling, with their heads or arms bandaged, and the blood still oozing from their half drest wounds—their meagre, emaciated and ghastly appearance presented at once to the eye of the beholder, a striking picture of the horrors of war and neglect."⁶⁴

In a paper published at Windsor, Vermont, in February, 1814, are found allusions to Secretary Armstrong and Josiah Quincy:

"[The following *Extraordinary Advertisement* is copied from the last (Windsor) *Washingtonian*.]

"SLAVES WANTED!

"UNCLE SAM, a worthy gentleman Slaveholder (of Virginia) wants to purchase, at 124 dollars a head, 65,000 ('more or less') stout, able-bodied, full-blooded YANKEES, to aid Field Marshall, the Duke of Newburgh, in taking Possession of a Plantation he has lately bargained for, (with himself) if he can get it IN CANADA. Apply at the truly fortunate Lottery Office;—or, elsewhere, if more convenient;—as every 'Office-holder or Citizen,' in the United States, is fully authorized and empowered to contract, as the acknowledged agent of his *Uncle*.

"N. B.—Uncle Sam's *purse* is rather low—but no matter. The Duke will guarantee the pay—'FORCIBLY—if he must.'"⁶⁵

In the *Herkimer American* of April 28, 1814, was printed the following:

"*Economy*.—A few days since, in a neighboring town twelve United States' waggons were repaired, for which the blacksmith was paid one thousand eight hundred dollars out of Uncle Sam's purse. *Query*. How much is the usual cost of a new waggon?"⁶⁶

dead Indian, 'more or less,'" said the *New York Herald* of July 14, 1813, p. 1-1. "Wanted," declared the *Columbian Centinel* of December 4, 1813, "about five hundred ('more or less') able-bodied, stout-hearted real Americans, to collect our land tax in our territory of Canada" (p. 2-3).

⁶⁴ Quoted in the *Connecticut Courant*, February 8, 1814, p. 3-2. The same passage is quoted in the *Massachusetts Spy* of February 9, 1814, p. 2-3, and February 23, p. 4-3, except that in both instances the words "'Uncle Sam's' hard bargains" are omitted.

⁶⁵ Quoted in the *Salem Gazette*, February 14, 1814, p. 3-3. See p. 29, note 33, above.

⁶⁶ Quoted in the *New York Spectator*, May 7, 1814, p. 1-1. The passage was also printed in the *Massachusetts Spy* of May 25, 1814, p. 3-3.

In or about May, 1814, the Keene *Sentinel* printed the following:

"*More Economy!*—Colonel Pickering in his Speech on the Loan Bill, stated, on direct information from two members of the former Congress, that a waggon started with 40 bushels of corn for the army—that the team of horses consumed 18 bushels on the way—reserved 18 to feed them on returning, and delivered 4 bushels, which must, at this rate, have cost *fifty dollars* a bushel!

"Everyone remembers the vinegar transported from Boston to Albany, which might have been procured *cheaper* at the latter than the former place.

"*Uncle Sam's* teams are continually passing thro' this town, with cannon balls, &c. for the fleet at Vergennes. These balls are transported from Boston, at an expense of not less than *twenty shillings* for every 100 wt. i. e. every 32 lb. ball costs a dollar for transportation only. Now it is well known there are several foundaries in the vicinity of the Lake, and one very extensive one in Vergennes.—What then could induce the contractor to resort to this useless waste of the *sinews of war?* Quere. Do not the contractors have a certain per cent? If so, the larger the bills are, the better for them."⁸⁰

An extract dated Baltimore, June 22, 1814, reads as follows:

"A detachment of 260 Uncle Sam's troops, under Major KEYSER have embarked from Baltimore, to aid in raising the blockade of BARNEY'S flotilla. [This is as it should be,—The regulars are paid and fed for the common defense.]"⁸¹

The following passage is dated Keene, New Hampshire, November 5, 1814:

"The soldiers, drafted for the defence of Portsmouth are mostly on their return home. By some *arrangement* between the Governor and General Chandler, the latter, it seems, undertook to provide for, and *pay* the troops. The *names* of those poor fellows are on *Uncle Sam's* pay roll; but not a cent of money have any of them received. This will come when the government loan is filled, and this loan will be filled when public credit is restored, either before, or *after* 'the troubled night of this administration departs.'"⁸¹

⁸⁰ Quoted in the *Portsmouth Oracle*, May 21, 1814, p. 2-5. The story of the wagon which started with forty bushels of corn, related by Timothy Pickering, was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy* of May 25, 1814, p. 3-3, but "Uncle Sam" is omitted.

⁸¹ Quoted in the *Columbian Centinel*, June 20, 1814, p. 2-1.

⁸¹ Quoted in the *New York Herald*, November 16, 1814, p. 3-4.

The following story appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of December 3, 1814:

"UNCLE SAM AND JOHN BULL.

"U. Sam pays his soldier-servants in Paper Money ('Chequer Bills) which the poor fellows carry to the brokers, and sell at a loss from 20 to 30 dollars in a hundred, and which Uncle Sam thinks is so much saved.

"But *John Bull*, an old fool, carries his Paper Money to market himself, gets as much gold and silver for it as he can—and pays off his soldier-servants in Ready Rhino, thereby losing all the discount himself.

"Who then shall say, that Uncle Sam is not a prudent, calculating fellow—and John Bull a fool and a spend-thrift?"⁸³

The *Plattsburg Herald* of December 9, 1814, contained the following:

" 'UNCLE SAM'S PAY'—AGAIN.—The detached Militia, of this state, who have been stationed at this post for these three months past, are principally discharged, and are to leave this place to-day. For the encouragement of the citizens of this state to unite in defence of 'Free Trade and Sailor's Rights,'— . . . we have to inform them that the aforesaid militia are now permitted to leave this, and get to their homes as they can, without (as they inform us) a cent of their pay, or even so much as the offer of a single Treasury Note, some of them the distance of 200 miles. . . . Who will not unite in this righteous war, and support the just and wise administration who declared it?—UNION! UNION!"⁸⁴

In the *Salem Gazette* of January 27, 1815, was printed the following:

"According to the Recruiting Orders lately issued, all men enlisted, before they pass muster, must be *stripped*. This is well enough, the peaceable *citizens* have been *stripped* by the war-hawk party long since; and it is high time the system should be extended to the *military* of Uncle Sam's family."⁸⁴

⁸³ The story was reprinted in the *New York Herald* of December 7, 1814, p. 2-3.

⁸⁴ Quoted in the *New York Herald*, December 21, 1814, p. 3-5.

⁸⁴ The extract was reprinted in the *Portsmouth Oracle* of January 28, 1815, p. 3-2; and in the *Connecticut Courant* of February 7, 1815, p. 3-1.

The *New Bedford Mercury* of January 27, 1815, contained the following:

"UNCLE SAM'S BARGAINS.

"On Tuesday last, the Deputy Collector of the 14th Collection District, agreeable to previous notice, proceeded to sell the real estate of about 30 persons of this town, for payment of Direct Taxes. No person appearing to purchase, the whole was *knocked down to Uncle Sam*—Whether Uncle Sam or his agents will ever DARE attempt to take possession of these purchases, is another part of the business."⁶⁵

The above passage was quoted early in 1815 by Hezekiah Niles, who appended this note: "U. S. or Uncle Sam—a cant term in the army for the United States."⁶⁶

In the *Columbian Centinel* of June 21, 1815, appeared the following:

A District Paymaster of the U. S. residing in N. Y. by the name of *Whittleby* has advertised having been robbed of *Thirty Thousand* dollars of Uncle Sam's money intended to pay the militia. It was in his Portmanteau, which *some how* or other, and *somewhere* or other, was cut open, and the money all rifled! The pay-master having a bad memory, could not recollect the denominations of bills; and forgot to offer a reward for the detection of the 'nefarious and daring wretch' " (p. 2-2).

Uncle Sam apparently made his first appearance in verse in a song called "Siege of Plattsburg, Sung at the Theatre, in Albany in the character of a Black Sailor. Tune—'Boyn Water.' " There are four stanzas, the first as follows:

"Back side Albany stan' lake Champlain,
One little pond, haf full a' water
Plat-te-bug dare too, close pon de main,
Town small—he grow bigger do herearter.
On lake Champlain,
Uncle Sam set he boat,
And Massa M'Donough, he sail 'em;

⁶⁵ Quoted in the *Salem Gazette*, January 21, 1815, p. 3-1; *Portsmouth Oracle*, February 4, p. 3-1; *Connecticut Courant*, February 7, p. 1-3.

⁶⁶ Supplement to *Niles' Register*, VII, 187. That volume ended with the issue of February 25, 1815.

While Gen'ral M'Comb
 Make Plat-te-bug he home,
 Wid de army, who courage nebber fail 'em."⁶⁷

At this point, let us pause a moment and review the evidence—evidence which thus far has been drawn wholly from the newspapers. The term Uncle Sam is first found in September, 1813, or when the war was half over, though even then it was alleged to have "got almost as current as 'John Bull.'"⁶⁸ While this statement may be true as regards the neighborhood of Greenbush,⁶⁹ at which place the camp was a rendezvous for the soldiers, it is not true of the country as a whole.⁷⁰ The term first appeared in papers published in cities or towns either in New York—as Troy, Lansingburgh, and Herkimer; or in Vermont—as Burlington and Windsor. In short, it arose exactly where one would expect it to arise—either in the neighborhood of Greenbush or along the Canadian frontiers where the fighting was done. Finally, there is one singular feature of the evidence. Every instance of Uncle Sam thus far

⁶⁷ Supplement to *Niles' Register*, IX, 95. That volume ended with the issue of February 24, 1816. The *Albany Register* of December 6, 1814, advertised a play, farce, and "Naval Pillar" to take place at the theatre the following evening "in honor of the memorable Naval Conflict on Lake Champlain, fought on the glorious Eleventh of September" (p. 3-4). The song in the text may have been written for that occasion, though it is not mentioned in the advertisement.

⁶⁸ See p. 33, above.

⁶⁹ There are constant allusions in the newspapers to Greenbush. The *Connecticut Courant* of September 29, 1812, printed an extract dated Pittsfield, September 17: "Democratic Economy.—Within a few days past, several waggon loads of Vinegar and Molasses have passed through this village, on the way from Boston to Greenbush, near Albany. These articles were purchased at Boston for the use of the troops at Greenbush. The vinegar cost the government Five Dollars per barrel, in Boston; and according to the statement of the teamsters, the expence of transportation would be much more than the first cost. Now we are told, and we believe correctly, that vinegar can be purchased in Albany at less than four dollars per barrel. And we presume that molasses can be bought in Albany and New-York, as cheap as in Boston.—Why, then, this enormous expence of transportation!—So goes the people's money!" (p. 2-5).

⁷⁰ As late as February, 1815, the editor of a Baltimore paper thought it necessary to explain the meaning of the term. See p. 38, note 66, above. The newspapers throughout the war literally swarm with allusions to John Bull, Yankee, Yankee Doodle, and Brother Jonathan. On the other hand, no allusion to Uncle Sam has yet been found before September, 1813, while from then until 1816 I have encountered less than thirty examples, all of which are quoted or cited in the present paper either in text or footnotes. This statement is based on an examination of newspapers published during 1812-1815 in Portsmouth, Salem, Boston, Worcester, Hartford, Troy, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

given, except that in the "Siege of Plattsburg," is taken from a peace paper, while not once does the term occur in a war paper. It is not easy to see why the war papers should have avoided the term, and the fact that they did would seem to indicate that it was employed somewhat derisively by the peace men. Possibly the sobriquet was regarded as merely lacking in dignity. Or it may be, feeling running so high, that the mere fact of its being taken up by one party was sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of the other. But whatever the reason, the fact is striking, and is comparable to the avoidance of the word Yankee by the New Englanders previous to the battle of Lexington. Does not an absolute boycott point at least to a distaste? It should also be noted that by "Uncle Sam's men" were meant, at first, not soldiers but United States custom house officers.

Thus far, however, the term has been merely a colloquialism, found only in the newspapers. Let us now follow its progress in the literary language. Its first appearance in a book was in a political skit published in 1816, and written partly in Biblical phrase. Whose identity was concealed under the pseudonym of Frederick Augustus Fidfaddy, the alleged author of *The Adventures of Uncle Sam*, I do not know. The book itself,⁷¹ like James K. Paulding's *Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan* (published in 1812) and all similar skits, is modelled on Arbuthnot's *Law is a Bottomless Pit*—usually called the *History of John Bull*—published in 1712. In it we find not merely Uncle Sam, but Sam, Samuel, Samuelite, Uncle Samuel, and Uncle Samuel's Lady—meaning Congress. A few extracts follow:

" 'WHAT! another history of the war? We cannot be always reading' exclaims a Smoking Lounger, while he strikes his silver headed rattan against the door-post of the Bookseller. Softly, my friend, the work professes to be the *Adventures of*

⁷¹ As this tract of 142 pages is apparently rare, I give the title: "*The Adventures of Uncle Sam, in Search after his lost Honor. By Frederick Augustus Fidfaddy, Esq., Member of the Legion of Honor, Scratch-etary to Uncle Sam, and Privy Counsellor to himself. Middletown: Printed by Seth Richards. 1816.*" It was copyrighted May 16, 1816.

your own dear Uncle, if you are a native American, or of your *Uncle-in-Law*, if you are not . . . Shall Amadis de Gaul, Don Quixote and Earl Strongbow, confer unfading glories on the respective countries which were the theatres of their exploits; and miser-like, pocket all the renown of romantic chivalry? Forbid it Uncle Sam, and all his sons! . . . In short, the learned Author, in imitation of high authorities, solicits the indulgence of the public:—1. With regard to the appearance of our common Uncle Sam. Although, he is old enough to be very whimsical, he is like the Author, a green character on the stage. . . . Behold said Thomas,⁷² how mine Uncle Samuel hath fought in times past against John Bull and hath prevailed, nevertheless, he oweth at this time, many talents of silver. . . . The place chosen for the second attempt to inoculate the clownish Snowfieldians⁷³ with blessings of Liberty, was Queenston, a pleasant town separated from the dominions of Sam, by that frith of water which is known by the name of the St. Lawrence. . . . Now the man Proctor⁷⁴ the son of Belial of whom we have spoken had his evil heart stirred within him again to vex the sons of Samuel. And as his manner was he assembled again the wicked sons of Cain, and devised mischief against the small band of Samuelites which lay at Lower Sandusky. . . . It becomes us to notice a remarkable change in Uncle Sam's Lady. She has lately discarded all her former notions of parsimony and philosophic whims of economy, and has most graciously bestowed on herself a very splendid Salary, and whereas, formerly her family servants received only six dollars *per diem*, they now receive fifteen hundred, for each entertainment or levee she holds, to see company."⁷⁵

It has already been noted that in books published in 1812 and 1814, Paulding did not employ the term Uncle Sam.⁷⁶ But in a work published in 1817 he wrote:

"This subject reminds me of a queer fellow that went by the name of *Paddy Whack*, who came over from a place called *Knockecroghery*, as I think and palmed himself upon a good-natured kinsman of mine, whom we familiarly called *Uncle Sam*. Pat, . . . was grandson, by the mother's side, to the well known humorist, *Paddy from Cork*, who wore his coat buttoned behind to keep his belly warm; and the old man was so pleased

⁷² Jefferson.

⁷³ The Canadians.

⁷⁴ Henry A. Proctor, the British general.

⁷⁵ *Adventures of Uncle Sam*, pp. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 53, 96, 140.

⁷⁶ See p. 22, note 3, above.

with his mode of eating buttermilk without any teeth, that he insisted upon having him christened after his name. . . . So he took up the business of patriotism, and fastened himself upon *Uncle Sam*, who was a liberal, good-hearted old fellow, that kept open house to all comers, and received *Pat* with kindness and hospitality, because he was poor and an exile."⁷⁷

The first foreigner to use the term was apparently W. Faux, who in a book written between 1819 and 1823 frequently employed it. "Almost all Americans," he quotes a Mr. Perry as saying, "are boys in everything but vice and folly! In their eyes *Uncle Sam* is a right slick, mighty fine, smart, big man."⁷⁸ On November 24, 1821, Hezekiah Niles wrote:

"I am, however, diverted from the subject I meant to speak of—that is, the 'ways and means' to keep the wheels of the government a-going; a most serious concern, especially to those who live upon the treasury, or expect to become rich by *plucking* 'Uncle Sam's' great grey goose."⁷⁹

In the *Baltimore Patriot* of November 11, 1824, appeared the following:

"ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL CARICATURE.

. . . It is a proof sheet of a print entitled—'*CAUCUS CURS in full YELL, or a WAR WHOOP to saddle on the PEOPLE a PAPPOOSE PRESIDENT.*' In the background stands the President's house, on the right of which '*Uncle Sam's Treasury pap house,*' with its '*amalgamation-tool department*' " (p. 2-2).

In 1826 Mrs. Anne Royall, an eccentric lady who wrote several books of travel, not lacking in sharp hits, remarked:

"It often happened while in Washington, that I met with 'uncle Sam's' men, as they call themselves. Walking in the capitol square one day, I stepped up to a man whom I found there at work, and asked him whom he worked for, (meaning his employer, from whom I wished to obtain some information,) 'me,' said the fellow, 'I work for uncle Sam,' in a tone of unqualified impudence. No matter where you meet those

⁷⁷ Letters from the South written during an Excursion in the Summer of 1816, (1817), II, 207, 208, 210.

⁷⁸ Memorable Days in America (1823), p. 126. See also pp. 99, 140, 162, 188, 215, 225, 262, 381.

⁷⁹ *Niles' Register*, XXI, 199. See also XXI, 38, 197.

understrappers you may distinguish them by their unparalleled effrontery."⁸⁰

One of Paulding's innumerable skits was "The History of Uncle Sam and his Boys: a Tale for Politicians," originally published in the *New York Mirror* in 1831. In this we read:

"ONCE upon a time there lived, and still lives, in a country lying far to the west, a famous squire, rich in lands and paper money. Report made him out to be the son of John Bull, who every one knows has children in all parts of the world. . . . John Bull had christened this son of his by the name of Jonathan; but by and by, when he became a man grown, being a good hearty fellow, about half horse half alligator,⁸¹ his friends and neighbours gave him the nickname of Uncle Sam; a sure sign that they liked him, for I never knew a respectable nickname given to a scurvy fellow in my life. Be this as it may, his family and all his neighbours at last came to call him nothing else but Uncle Sam; and all his beef, pork, and flour, in fact everything that belonged to him, was marked with a huge U. S., six inches long. As I have a great respect for universal example, I shall give him this name in the sequel of my history, which I hereby commend to the special attention of all wise men, more especially the wise men of the east. As to the fools, everybody knows they are so scarce now-a-days, that I hereby snap my fingers and defy them."⁸²

⁸⁰ Sketches, p. 165. In her Southern Tour, published in 1831, Mrs. Royall wrote: "Besides the collector [at the custom house, New Orleans], they have . . . 44 clerks, gaugers, inspectors, &c. Most of these were as shabby a set of gawks, as ever disgraced Uncle Sam" (p. 32).

⁸¹ This singular expression, now obsolete or obsolescent, was common in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was originally the slang of the boatmen on the Mississippi and other Western rivers. See C. Schultz, Jr., *Travels* (1810), II, 145, 146. The *Salem Gazette* of June 12, 1812, a few days before war was declared with England, printed the following: "Curious Terms of Defiance. New-Orleans April 24. 'Half horse half alligator'—has hitherto been the boast of our up-country boatmen, when quarrelling. The present season however has made a complete change. A few days ago two of them quarreled in a boat at Natchez, when one of them jumping ashore declared with a horrid oath that he was a *steamboat*. His opponent immediately followed him, swearing he was an *earthquake* and would shake him to pieces—and in fact almost literally executed his threat." The *Salem Gazette* added "It is these monsters of the western wilds that are forcing the people of the Atlantic shores into an unnecessary and ruinous war" (p. 4-1).

⁸² *New York Mirror*, February 19, 1831, VIII, 260, 261. The indefatigable Paulding contributed to the *United States and Democratic Review* for April, 1851, an article called "Uncle Sam and his 'B'hoys,'" from which the following is extracted: "Uncle Sam talks 'big' sometimes, like his old dad, Squire Bull, who was reckoned the greatest bragger of his day, till Uncle Sam grew up and disputed the point with him" (XXVIII, 299).

In 1835 David Crockett wrote:

"Them that danced should pay the piper; but I suppose they will all say as the young man said of the old quaker when the robbers stopped the mail-coach. The old gentleman gave up his purse; the young man held back: a pistol was presented at him: 'Oh,' says he, 'don't shoot; old uncle always pays for me!' So poor old Uncle Sam, I suppose, will pay for all: and I am glad that the funding system has paid off our national debt, so that a few hundreds of thousands won't hurt us much now. General Jackson can pay off the post-office debt as he said he would the old debt, *by borrowing*; and then we'll burn all the books and old extra contracts, and begin *dee novo*, as the Latin scholars say in Congress."⁸³

In 1835 Charles J. Latrobe, Australian governor and traveller, remarked:

"You may recollect I mentioned in a former letter, a certain double-barrelled fowling-piece which the commissioner had brought away from a government agent on the Missouri. It had kept us company ever since, going among us generally by the name of 'Uncle Sam,' such was the *soubriquet* given by the Americans to the General Government, from the usual initials U. S. or United States, affixed upon Government property."⁸⁴

In 1835 Edward S. Abdy, an Englishman, observed:

"I mention this trifling circumstance, because it illustrates a striking feature in the national character. 'Uncle Sam' is the veriest slave of habit in existence, and dislikes trouble. He would rather put up with an inconvenience than put himself out of his way."

In a note he added:

"This appellation corresponds with our 'John Bull'; and is supposed to be derived from the initials U. S. As the nation has not yet been able to fix upon a distinctive title, perhaps that of Caucasia would not be inappropriate."⁸⁵

On December 28, 1836, General George A. McCall said:
"At the usual hour for the examination of recruits, one bright

⁸³ Tour to the North and Down East, p. 202. Uncle Sam had previously figured in the Narrative of the Life of David Crockett (1834), p. 86.

⁸⁴ The Rambler in America, I, 160.

⁸⁵ Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States, II, 301.

spring morning, the surgeon and myself having *assembled* in my office high up in Market Street for the purpose I have stated, the sergeant brought, among other candidates for the honor of serving '*Uncle Sam*,' a perfect Hercules in physical Development."⁸⁶

In 1838 there appeared in Bentley's Miscellany a series of articles called Uncle Sam's Peculiarities, from which the following is extracted:

"We must here digress from our immediate subject, for the purpose of properly introducing one of the most celebrated characters now *talked of*. This personage, *Major Jack Downing* by name, is in everybody's notice as a great American jester, but, like *Uncle Sam*, is *but a name*. There may originally have been a Major Jack Downing, a comical 'military' officer, and there may also have been an Uncle Sam in Boston, whose initials happening to be the same as the initial letters of the United States was, from a postmaster, or government contractor of Massachusetts Bay, converted into the impersonation, or great federal representative of the twenty-six States, including Jonathan's own five particular States, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New England, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. But Major Jack and Uncle Sam of Boston (*mortal Sam*) both sleep with their forefathers, if they ever had any, leaving only their names behind; glorious Jack being famous in *story*, and Uncle Sam's initials, U. S., being wedded to *E. Pluribus unum*, for better or worse, until the twenty-six stars of North America shall be separated by some violent effort of nature, or a general convulsion of Yankee Republicanism. But if *Major Jack* is never seen *in propria persona*, he is sometimes represented by others, who prefer his name to their own. One of Mister Joseph Miller's jokes is of a fanatic, who gave thanks for being shown some relicts in a monastery, and added, 'This is the sixteenth head of John the Baptist I have seen in Italy.' A traveller in the United States is reminded of this Joe, and of King Dick's 'six Richmonds in the field,' by hearing of Major Jack Downing of American ubiquity, who is spread abroad and met with as a resident in most of the large towns and many of the quiet villages, and is moreover, one of the most witty correspondents of that many-headed monster, the Public Press. . . . The military are for a minute obstructed by six gaily-painted covered carts filled with merchandise, which their owners, the 'western merchants,' are

⁸⁶ Letters from the Frontiers (1868), p. 335. See also p. 354. This is the first use of the term by an army officer that I have noted.

The most popular explanation of the origin of Uncle Sam first appeared in print, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in John Frost's *Book of the Navy*, published in 1842. It did not originate with Frost, and no doubt he obtained it from a newspaper. It is as follows.⁹⁰

"Origin of 'Uncle Sam.'"

"Much learning and research have been exercised in tracing the origin of odd names, and odd sayings, which, taking their rise in some trifling occurrence or event, easily explained or well understood for a time, yet, in the course of years, becoming

between Edward Everett and Sam Slick, the latter remarked: "Well, I don't know, said I, but somehow or another, I guess you'd found preaching the best speculation in the long run; them are Unitarians pay better than Uncle Sam (we call, said the Clockmaker, the American public Uncle Sam, as you call the British, John Bull)" (*The Clockmaker*, second edition, Concord, 1838, p. 43).

Mr. Robert G. Haliburton relates this anecdote of Judge Haliburton: "On his arrival in London, the son of Lord Abinger (the famous Sir James Scarlett) who was confined to his bed, asked him to call on his father, as there was a question which he would like to put to him. When he called, his Lordship said, 'I am convinced that there is a veritable Sam Slick in the flesh now selling clocks to the Bluesoes. Am I right?' 'No,' replied the Judge, 'there is no such person. He was a pure accident. I never intended to describe a Yankee clockmaker or Yankee dialect; but Sam Slick slipped into my book before I was aware of it, and once there he was there to stay'" (in Haliburton: *a Centenary Chaplet*, Toronto, 1897, pp. 25, 26).

"*Book of the Navy*, pp. 297, 298. The story occurs in the "Naval Anecdotes" in the Appendix. Some of the stories and songs in this Appendix appear in the Supplement to *Niles' Register*, 1816, IX; but the Wilson story is not there.

As an illustration of the extraordinary changes undergone in repetition, I give the story as it was printed in 1870 by Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*: "Sam. *Uncle Sam*. The United States government. Mr. Frost tells us that the inspectors of Elbert Anderson's store on the Hudson were Ebeneser and his uncle Samuel Wilson, the latter of whom superintended in person the workmen, and went by the name of 'Uncle Sam.' The stores were marked E.A.—U.S. (*Elbert Anderson, United States*), and one of the employers being asked the meaning, said U. S. stood for 'Uncle Sam.' The joke took, and in the War of Independence the men carried it with them, and it became stereotyped" (p. 783).

Brewer goes on to say: "*To stand Sam*. To be made to pay the reckoning. This is an Americanism, and arose from the letters U. S. on the knapsacks of the soldiers. The government of Uncle Sam has to pay or 'stand Sam' for all. (*See above*.)" In 1871 DeVere wrote: "In the army, it seems, even this designation [i. e. Uncle Sam] was deemed too full and formal, and, as early as the year 1827, it became a familiar saying among soldiers, to *stand Sam*, whenever drinks or refreshments of any kind had to be paid for. As they were accustomed to see *Uncle Sam* pay for all their wants, to *stand Sam*, became to their minds equivalent to the ordinary slang phrase: to stand treat" (p. 251). In 1891 J. Maitland said: "Sam, 'to stand Sam' (Amer.), to stand treat" (*American Slang Dictionary*, p. 229). And in 1891 J. M. Dixon wrote: "Sam.—*To stand Sam*—to entertain friends; to pay for refreshments. U. Sam is a contraction for 'Uncle Sam,' a jocular name for the U. S. Government. The phrase, therefore, originally means to pay all expenses, as the Government does" (*Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases*, p. 282). Brewer's statement, having been adopted by several writers, requires consideration. As

involved in mystery, assume an importance equal at least to the skill and ingenuity required to explain or trace them to their origin. 'The Swan with two necks'—'The Bull and Mouth'—'All my eye, Betty Martin,' and many others, are of this character—and who knows but, an hundred years hence, some 'learned commentator' may puzzle his brain to furnish some ingenious explanation of the origin of the national appellation placed at the head of this article. To aid him, therefore, in this research, I will state the facts as they occurred under my own eye.

"Immediately after the declaration of the last war with England, Elbert Anderson, of New-York, then a Contractor, visited Troy, on the Hudson, where was concentrated, and where he purchased, a large quantity of provisions—beef,

a matter of fact, not only is the phrase "to stand Sam"—meaning "to be answerable for," "to become surety for," "to pay the reckoning," or "to pay for the drinks,"—not an Americanism, but it has never, so far as I know, even been employed in this country. The words "Sam" and "Sammy" have been used in various senses in English dialects for a hundred and thirty years, an instance dated 1777 being recorded in the English Dialect Dictionary. To the examples of "upon my Sam," an expletive, quoted in the same work from Frank's Nine Days (1879), p. 12, and Zack's On Trial (1899), p. 220, may be added another from R. Marsh's Tom Ossington's Ghost (1900), p. 216. "Sammy," meaning "foolish, silly," was recognized as early as 1823 in Pierce Egan's edition of Grose's Classical Dictionary; and examples dated 1837 and 1843 are quoted in Farmer and Henley's Slang and its Analogues (1903). The expression "to stand Sam" or "to stand Sammy" is recognized in Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words (1847), in Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English (1857), in Hotten's Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words (1859), in Barrère and Leland's Dictionary of Slang, Jargon & Cant (1890), in Farmer and Henley's Slang and its Analogues (1903), and in the English Dialect Dictionary. "Landlady," wrote Moncrieff in 1823, "serve them with a glass of tape, all round; and I'll stand Sammy" (Tom and Jerry, III, 5). Besides this extract, Farmer and Henley quote others from Ainsworth's Rookwood (1834), Hindley's Cheap Jack (1876), Black's White Heather (1885), Henley's Villon's Good-Night (1887), Licensed Victuallers' Gazette (1890), and Milliken's 'Arry Ballads (1890); and to these may be added others from Punch, August 20, 1881, LXXXI, 75, and from W. De Morgan's Joseph Vance (1906), p. 465. Every known example is from a British author.

During the ascendancy of the Know-Nothing party, however, the word "Sam" was used in this country for a brief period. "The allusion," wrote Farmer in 1889, "is to UNCLE SAM, the national sobriquet, the Know Nothings claiming that in a nation mostly made up of immigrants, only native-born citizens should possess and exercise privileges and powers" (Americanisms Old and New, p. 470). "The name," said H. F. Reddall in 1892, "contains, of course, an allusion to 'Uncle Sam,' the personification of the government of the United States" (Fact, Fancy, and Fable, p. 452). A few examples may be given. In a letter dated Randolph, Pennsylvania, July 14, 1855, a correspondent said: "I take it for granted that you are with us heart and hand in the new movement known as 'Know Somethings;' but I believe quite as readily recognized under the Yankee cognomen, 'Jonathan.' The order is fully organized in this State, and is progressing finely. All the secret organizations therefore of this character are blended, and *E. Pluribus Unum*. The 'Sams' are going over *en masse*, and although some of our election returns may be credited to Sam, yet I assure you that all candidates elect are the workmanship of Jonathan.

pork, &c. The inspectors of these articles at that place were Messrs. Ebenezer and Samuel Wilson. The latter gentleman (invariably known as 'Uncle Sam') generally superintended in person a large number of workmen, who, on this occasion, were employed in overhauling the provisions purchased by the contractor for the army. The casks were marked E. A.—U. S. This work fell to the lot of a facetious fellow in the employ of the Messrs. Wilson, who, on being asked by some of his fellow-workmen the meaning of the mark (for the letters U. S., for United States, were then almost entirely new to them,) said 'he did not know, unless it meant *Elbert Anderson and Uncle Sam*'—alluding exclusively, then, to the said 'Uncle Sam' Wilson. The joke took among the workmen, passed currently; and 'Uncle Sam' himself being present, was occa-

Sam is dead! Plucked up by the roots! Buried in cotton!" (*Kansas Herald of Freedom*, August 4, 1855, p. 4-3). On February 28, 1856, Congressman Samuel Carruthers wrote: "I went twice (and but twice), into their [Know-Nothing] councils. I 'saw Sam.' It took two visits to see him all over. I made them. I saw enough and determined never to see his face again" (in H. J. Desmond's *Know-Nothing Party*, 1905, p. 82). In 1858 Governor Wise of Virginia wrote to a committee of the Tammany Society: "As to your other motto—'Civil and Religious Liberty'—ours was saved by the Virginia Democracy in 1855. We struck the dark lantern out of the hands of ineffable Sam, and none now are found so poor as 'hurrah!' for him" (*New York Tribune*, January 11, 1858, p. 2-6). In 1905 H. J. Desmond remarked: "Those inducted into the first degree do not appear to have been informed as to the name of the order. They were brought into 'the august presence of Sam.' . . . In Illinois the Know-Nothing order split into two factions, 'the Sams' insisting upon an anti-Catholic program and 'the Jonathans' proposing not to antagonize Catholics who owed no civil allegiance as distinguished from spiritual allegiance to the Pope. The Jonathans triumphed" (*Know-Nothing Party*, pp. 54, 103). Exactly what the Know-Nothings meant by "Sam" is not apparent from these extracts; but fortunately the question need not further detain us.

One more statement may be considered here. In 1882 A. S. Palmer remarked: "SAMBO, the ordinary nickname for a negro, often mistaken as a pet name formed from Sam, Samuel, . . . is really borrowed from his Spanish appellation *sambo*, . . . A connexion was sometimes imagined perhaps with *Uncle Sam*, a popular name for the United States" (*Folk-Etymology*, pp. 338, 339). It may be doubted whether any one has ever seriously advanced the notion that Sambo is formed from Sam or Samuel, or that there is a connection between Sambo and Uncle Sam. "This *Negro Sambo* comes to me," wrote R. Ligon in 1657, "and seeing the needle wag, desired to know the reason of its stirring" (*True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, pp. 49, 50, 54). Before 1700 we read of "Sambo negro helping caring goods" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXIV, 98). In the *Boston News-Letter* of October 2, 1704, an advertisement stated that "There is a Negro man taken up . . . calls himself *Sambo*" (p. 2-2). In 1716 "Sambo a negro servant" was married to Hagar (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXVIII, 27). In the *Boston Gazette* of July 22, 1765, "a Negro Man named *Sambo*" was advertised as a runaway (p. 4-3). In the *Massachusetts Spy* of February 17, 1813, we read: "The moan of the poor black man interrupted the sweet song of the mocking bird. We could not distinguish all the voices that rose from the field, but the ear caught a fragment of the poor negro's song:—The lash of the driver forced a scream of anguish that moment from Sambo, and we heard no more" (p. 4-2).

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right.

also with variations, by Arthur James Weise⁶² in 1876, in 1886, and again in 1891; and is now found in almost every

that whenever they saw the initials U. S., on any class of stores, they were equally called Uncle Sam's; and finally, it came by an easy transition, to be applied to the United States itself" (*Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State*, p. 243).

The bibliography of Watson's books on Philadelphia and New York requires a note. In 1830 he published, in one volume, *Annals of Philadelphia*, being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes & Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders. (Collation: Title, 1 p.; Copyright, 1 p.; Advertisement, pp. iii, iv; Preface, pp. v-vii; Contents, pp. viii-xii; *Annals of Philadelphia*, pp. 1-740; Appendix: containing Olden Time Researches & Reminiscences, of New York City, pp. 1-78.) In 1832 he published *Historic Tales of Olden Time: concerning the Early Settlement and Advancement of New York City and State*. In 1833 he published *Historic Tales of Olden Time, concerning the Early Settlement and Progress of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*. In 1844 he published, in two volumes, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants, and of the Earliest Settlements of the inland part of Pennsylvania, from the Days of the Founders*. This work was copyrighted in 1843, though the title page bears the date 1844. In the advertisement, which is dated July, 1842, Watson says: "The reader will please observe, that this work having been *closed in Manuscript*, in 1842, that therefore, all reference to any given number of years back, respecting things passed or done so many 'years ago,' is to be understood as counting backward from the year 1842" (p. xi). In 1846 he published *Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State, in the Olden Time*. In 1857 he published, in two volumes, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*. This edition contains some matter not in the 1844 edition. Finally, in 1877, Willis P. Hazard published, in three volumes, the *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, the first two volumes being identical with the 1857 edition of Watson's work, the third volume an addition by Hazard. The Uncle Sam story first appeared in the 1844 edition of *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (II, 335); and in the 1846 edition of *Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State, in the Olden Time* (p. 243), though the two accounts, as seen above, differ somewhat.

⁶² In 1876 Mr. Weise gave the following account: "Among the well known citizens of Troy in 1812, was Samuel Wilson. Being one of the first settlers, and besides having a kind and benevolent disposition, he won the esteem and affection of everybody in the village, and was more generally designated as Uncle Sam than by his proper name. It is related that on one occasion his youngest son wandered away from home and was lost. A gentleman found him crying in a strange place, and asked him whose boy he was, and received for an answer, that he was Uncle Sam's boy. By this appellation the father was readily recognised and he was returned to his parents. During the military operations along the northern border in the war of 1812, Samuel and Ebeneser Wilson were engaged in an extensive slaughtering business, employing about one hundred men, and were slaughtering weekly more than one thousand head of cattle. During this year, he and his brother received a contract from Elbert Anderson, Jr., an army contractor, to supply the troops stationed at Greenbush with beef, 'packed in full bound barrels of white oak.' Samuel Wilson was also appointed at this time Inspector of beef for the army, and was accustomed in this line of duty to mark all the barrels of meat passing his inspection with the abbreviated title U. S. of the United States. In the army at the cantonment at Greenbush, there were a number of soldiers who had enlisted in Troy, and to whom 'Uncle Sam' and his business were well known. The beef received from Troy, they always alluded to as Uncle Sam's beef, and the other soldiers without any inquiry began to recognise the letters U. S. as the initial designation of Uncle Sam. A contractor from the northern lines strengthened this impression

book of reference.⁹⁸ Before submitting the story to critical examination, let us see who Anderson and the Wilsons were. Elbert Anderson, Jr., of whom we have already caught

thereafter, when, purchasing a large quantity of beef in Troy, he advertised that he had received a supply of Uncle Sam's beef of a superior quality. The name 'Uncle Sam,' a few only knowing its derivation, became in a little while the recognised familiar designation of the United States, and is now as well known to the world as is the appellation John Bull" (*History of the City of Troy*, p. 91).

Mr. Weise's version of 1891, differing somewhat from the above, is as follows: "Among the contractors supplying the Army of the North with provisions was Elbert Anderson, jr., who, on October 1st, advertised in the Troy and Albany newspapers for proposals for 'two thousand barrels of prime pork and three hundred barrels of prime beef,' to be delivered to him in the months of January, February, March, and April, at Waterford, Troy, Albany, and New York. Ebeneser and Samuel Wilson, who were then extensively engaged in slaughtering cattle in the village, contracted to furnish him a quantity of beef 'packed in full-bound barrels of white oak.' From time to time they delivered it at the camp at Greenbush, where the soldiers from Troy designated it as 'Uncle Sam's,' implying that it was furnished by Samuel Wilson, whom they and other people of the village were accustomed to call 'Uncle Sam.' The other recruits, thinking that the term was applied to the letters U. S., stamped upon the barrels by the government inspector of beef, began using the appellation 'Uncle Sam' figuratively for the United States, in the same way that the name 'John Bull' is used to designate the English nation" (*Troy's One Hundred Years*, p. 76).

Mr. Weise also gave the story in his *City of Troy and its Vicinity* (1886), p. 321.

⁹⁸ These of course need not be specified. In the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 12, 1902, was printed an article headed "Origin of the Term Uncle Sam. A Story that is Vouched for by Rev. G. F. Merriam—The Original 'Uncle Sam' House." It is in part as follows: "Sterling, Apr. 11.—Rev. G. F. Merriam of Mt. Kisco, N. Y., who is in Sterling as a guest of his son and daughter, told a story of the origin of the term 'Uncle Sam,' as applied to the United States. He said a farm in Mason, N. H., belonging to the estate of Mrs. Persis Wilson, who died recently, and which estate he was engaged in settling, was the birthplace and boyhood home of Uncle Samuel Wilson, who was the original 'Uncle Sam.' The story, vouched for by Rev. Mr. Merriam, . . . is this:—Samuel Wilson was one of a family of 12 children, . . . and he and his younger brother, Edward, located when they were young men, in Albany, N. Y., and at the time of the war of 1812, became extensive contractors for government supplies. They were at this time well known in the vicinity of Albany as 'Uncle Sam' and 'Uncle Ned.' The packages of supplies when sent away to United States government supply depots, were marked 'U.S.,' and people sometimes questioned what those magic letters stood for. They were told that as the packages came from Uncle Sam Wilson, they of course meant 'Uncle Sam,' and from this little thing the name spread, until the government itself was referred to as Uncle Sam. The farm where these men lived as boys, fell into the hands of another brother, Capt. Thomas Wilson, and then to his son, Deacon J. B. Wilson, who died several years since, and his widow, Mrs. Persis Wilson, lived there until her death last winter. Rev. Mr. Merriam was a particular friend of the family, and as executor is attending to the sale of the property. The house contains many relics . . . and many historic articles, the sale of which, Apr. 30, will doubtless attract many of the curiosity hunters. The original 'Uncle Sam' house is standing, although a new house has been erected near by, and everything is to be sold" (p. 4-6). Edward Wilson was older than either Ebeneser or Samuel. A letter addressed in 1902 to the Rev. Mr. Merriam brought no reply.

a glimpse,⁹⁴ need not detain us long. The following advertisement appeared in several Albany, Troy, and New York newspapers in 1812 and 1813:

"Proposals for Beef and Pork.

"SEALED Proposals will be received through the medium of the Post-Offices at Albany and New-York, directed to the subscriber, until the 25th of October, for 2000 barrels PRIME PORK and 3000 barrels PRIME BEEF, to be delivered in the months of January, February, March and April, at Waterford, Troy, Albany and New-York. The whole to be put up *in full bound barrels* of white oak. No proposals need be offered for less than one hundred barrels. 20 per cent will be paid in advance at the time of executing the contract, 20 per cent on the first day of January, and 20 per cent the first day of March, the remainder on the first day of May, 1813. The Contractor reserves to himself the privilege of choosing his inspector in the counties the provisions are put up in—The preference will be given to those whose reputation and security will insure the faithful compliance of the terms of the contract.

"ELBERT ANDERSON, Jun.

"October 1st, 1812.

*Army Contractor."*⁹⁵

⁹⁴ See p. 32, note 47, above.

⁹⁵ *Albany Gazette*, October 5, 1812, p. 3-5. The same advertisement appeared in the *Troy Post*, of October 6, p. 3-4, of October 13, p. 3-4, and of October 20, pp. 3-4; and in the *New York Herald* of January 23, 1813, p. 4-4, though in the last the advertisement was dated October 17.

I have noted several other references to Anderson. In the *New York Evening Post* of October 10, 1812, appeared the following: "~~As~~ Col. Mapes and the officers under his command, in behalf of their men, return thanks to Elbert Anderson, Junr. Esq. for his liberal present of 100 bushels of Potatoes, 2 boxes of Chocolate, and 1 box of Tea—also, a waggon load of Potatoes from Saml. Hobart and Stephen Striker, on behalf of the inhabitants of Gravesend; . . . " (p. 2-5). In the *Albany Gazette* of December 24, 1812, was printed a letter from Anderson himself (p. 3-4):

"Messrs. Websters and Skinners,

"A statement having appeared in your paper, purporting to be the substance of a declaration made by Col. Thorn, that 'two or three thousand barrels of provisions have been deposited within a mile and a half of the Canada line.' As that statement may mislead the public and invite the enemy to encroachments, I beg leave to state thro your paper, that there is not more provisions deposited or left near the line than is sufficient for the subsistence of the men there stationed for the winter: the surplus being removed, to my certain knowledge, to Burlington, and other places of presumed safety, and I believe the same care and prudent precaution has been taken as respects the munitions of war that were at Champlain.

"ELBERT ANDERSON, Jun.

"Albany, Dec. 19, 1812.

Army Contractor."

On November 23, 1757, Edward Wilson, said to have been born July 6, 1734,⁹⁶ at West Cambridge (now Arlington), Massachusetts, married Lucy Francis of Medford.⁹⁷ At West Cambridge were born Ebenezer Wilson on August 18, 1763, and Samuel Wilson on September 13, 1768. About 1780 Edward Wilson took his family to Mason, New Hampshire, and later he went to Troy.⁹⁸ Ebenezer and Samuel Wilson removed to Troy about 1789 and soon became prominent in the life of the young town. In September, 1805, the following advertisement appeared in Troy newspapers:

"SLAUGHTERING & PACKING

"The undersigned having two large and convenient SLAUGHTER-HOUSES, beg leave to acquaint their customers and others, that they will be enabled to *kill, cut* and *pack* 150 head of Cattle per day; and, from their local situation, pledge themselves to accommodate those who may favour them with a call, on terms as low as can be obtained in the State.

"They have on hand a large supply of BARRELS and SALT, which will be disposed of on the lowest terms.

"All those who shall be under the necessity of waiting 24 hours for their Cattle to be slaughtered, shall have them pastured free of expence.

E. & S. WILSON.

"*Troy, September 17, 1805.*"⁹⁹

In the *Troy Post* of October 6, 1812, appeared this paragraph, which may or may not refer to the Wilsons:

"We are informed that one house in this town has paid Twenty Thousand Dollars during the last month for transporting provisions, flour, whiskey, &c from this place to Plattsburgh, for the use of the army of the North" (p. 3-3).

⁹⁶ This statement is made in J. B. Hill's *History of Mason* (1858), p. 209; but there is no record of his birth in the Vital Records of Arlington (1904).

⁹⁷ Lucy Francis was born March 12, 1738-39 (Vital Records of Medford, 1907, p. 60), and died at Mason, December 8, 1835.

⁹⁸ For the Wilsons, see, besides the books by Mr. Weise cited above, Hill's *History of Mason*, p. 209; Cutter's *History of Arlington* (1880), p. 323; Vital Records of Arlington, pp. 47, 157. Edward and Lucy Wilson had thirteen children.

⁹⁹ *Northern Budget*, September 17, 1805, p. 3-4; September 24, p. 4-1; October 1, p. 4-2. The same advertisement, except that the date was changed to September 24, appeared in the *Troy Gazette* of September 24, 1805, p. 3-4.

In the same paper of June 1, 1813, under the head of "HOGS—wanted," was printed this advertisement:

"BOARDMAN, MANN & Co. wish to purchase One Hundred and Twenty thrifty Barrow SHOTES, for which Cash will be paid on delivery at their Stillhouse in Troy. For further particulars inquire at the store of WILSON, MANN & Co." (p. 2-1).

In the *Troy Post* of September 28, 1813 (p. 3-4), appeared the following:

"NOTICE

"The Copartnership of the subscribers, under the firm of Wilson, Mann & Co. is by mutual Consent this day dissolved. All persons indebted to, or that have any demands against said firm are requested to call on James Mann for settlement, who is duly authorized to settle the same.

"EBENEZER WILSON

"JAMES MANN

"SAMUEL WILSON

"Troy, Sept 28, 1813.

"N. B. The Business in future will be conducted by James Mann at the store lately occupied by Wilson, Mann & Co."¹⁰⁰

Edward Wilson, the father of the two brothers, died at Troy, June 17, 1816; but neither the Troy nor the Albany papers contained an obituary notice.¹⁰¹ Ebenezer Wilson died July 22, 1825, the following notice appearing in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*:

"New York, Saturday, July 23.

"Died—Suddenly, yesterday afternoon, Mr. Ebenezer Wilson, Sen. aged 63. Mr. W. has for years been extensively engaged in business as an inspector and packer of Beef both in Troy,

¹⁰⁰ The notice was repeated in the *Troy Post* of October 12, 19, and 26. The business of the firm was dry goods and groceries. In spite of the dissolution of partnership, the advertisement of Wilson, Mann & Co., dated May 7, 1813, appeared in the *Troy Post* of October 12, 1813.

James Mann, who continued the business, was a son of Benjamin Mann of Keene, New Hampshire. Several years ago I had a correspondence with Mrs. Louise Benson, a descendant of Benjamin Mann. Mrs. Benson merely spoke of the existence in her family of the tradition about the Wilson story, but was unable to give me any new facts.

¹⁰¹ The *Troy Post* of June 17, 1817, (p. 3-3), contained a notice of the marriage on June 9 of Elizabeth Wilson, a daughter of Ebenezer Wilson, and the Rev. James Ogilvie of New York.

and this city. He was an ornament to the christian church, and a worthy, industrious, and excellent man in all the duties of life."¹⁰²

In the Troy Directory (I, 61) for 1829, the first published, is found this entry: "Wilson, Samuel, ferry continued,"—which, Miss Jessie F. Wheeler writes me,¹⁰³ "means, I suppose, Ferry Street continued up the hill." Samuel Wilson died at Troy on July 31, 1854. Of the many notices which appeared in the Troy papers, the following, signed "Trojan," is the most interesting:

"DEATH OF THE LATE SAMUEL WILSON.

"When an individual passes from us, who has been long known, and whose business connections have been very extensive, it is proper that some thing more than a mere passing notice should be taken of his death, as well as a just allusions [sic] to some of the principal acts of his life. The subject of this brief notice was an early pioneer in the settlement of this place, commencing in 1793, and he took an active part in the extension of all the business facilities adopted by himself and his associates, and was himself engaged in, and prosecuted successfully, at least four distinct kinds of business, employing about 200 hands constantly, while he took the over-sight of each particular branch, in connection with his brother Eben.—Hé prosecuted the mercantile business in connection with slooping; the brick-making business very extensively; the distillery business; farming, on a pretty large scale, and the slaughtering business on an extensive plan. During the war of 1812 he supplied the army very generally, especially at the north, from his extensive yards. His tact for managing laborers

¹⁰² Quoted in the *Troy Sentinel*, July 26, 1825, p. 3-4. Mr. Barton kindly sent me the same notice copied from the *Albany Argus* of July 29, 1825. In his Collections on the History of Albany, published in 1867, Joel Munsell quoted (II, 479), under the head of "Beef Packing in Albany," an article taken from *Knickerbocker* containing this passage: "In 1830 Albany was not only a great cattle packing centre, but the same was true of Troy, Waterford, Lansingburgh and Catskill. Uncle Eb. Wilson was at Catskill; Perry and Judson at Albany; C. P. Ives, Lansingburgh; and Capt. Turner at Batestown, near Troy." When this passage was written it is impossible to say, as Munsell does not specify the volume or date of *Knickerbocker*, a magazine which began publication in 1833. As, however, the writer specifies the year 1830, it is certain that his "Uncle Eb. Wilson" was not identical with our Ebeneser Wilson; but the coincidence in name is worth recording.

¹⁰³ In the library of our Society and in that of the New York Historical Society I have found various Troy and Albany newspapers, but those files were very incomplete. At my request, Miss Wheeler of the Troy Public Library searched for me the files owned by that library; and I am indebted to her for several valuable and interesting extracts.

was very peculiar; he would always say 'Come boys,' instead of 'go,' and thereby secured a greater amount of labor than ordinary men.—His success in business he mainly attributed to a strict *system* in his plans, and the constant habit of *early rising*, and to this habit he undoubtedly owed his uniform good health, and his useful life. He had eight brothers and two sisters all of whom were tenacious of this habit, and all but two are now dead, but their ages averaged full 80 years each. In his political creed he was strictly *Republican* and was warmly attached to the Democratic party, and in the election of General Jackson to the Presidency, he took a very active part, serving as a *standing chairman* of the party both at his first and second election. In his religious creed he was tolerant to all. He was united to no church, but at the age of three score years his mind became deeply imbued with religion, and feeling his responsibility to his Maker, he solemnly dedicated himself to God and united with the Presbyterian Church in this city.—His walk and conversation since the solemn transition, evinced the sincerity of his profession, and he has left a pleasing assurance both to the church and his friends that he now 'Rests from his labors and his works follow him.' "104

¹⁰⁴ *Troy Daily Budget*, August 2, 1854, p. 2-3. Other notices of Samuel Wilson appeared in the Troy papers.

"~~Sam~~ Died—SAMUEL WILSON, aged eighty eight years, died this morning at his residence 76 Ferry street. The deceased was one of the oldest inhabitants of this city. He came to Troy about the year 1793, and consequently had resided here 61 years. He was about the last of those termed 'first settlers.' Mr. W. purchased the lands east of the city, now owned by Messrs. VAIL and WARREN, and occupied by them for farming purposes till about 1820. He then sold them all, except about four acres, upon which his present residence stands. He has been one of the most active business men of the community, and we can truly say that he was an honest and upright man" (*Troy Daily Times*, July 1, p. 2-3).

"~~Sam~~ Samuel B. Wilson, another of our oldest citizens, died at his residence on Ferry st. hill this morning. He was about 80 or 90 years of age" (*Troy Daily Budget*, July 1, p. 2-4). "B." is evidently a printer's error.

"~~Sam~~ Samuel Wilson, aged 88, died yesterday morning at his residence 76 Ferry street. Mr. Wilson was one of the oldest inhabitants of the city" (*Troy Daily Traveller*, August 1, p. 2-2).

"Died. On Monday Morning, Samuel Wilson, in the 88th year of his age. His relatives and friends are respectfully invited to attend his funeral this (Tuesday) afternoon at 3 o'clock, at his late residence, No. 76 Ferry-st." (*Troy Daily Traveller*, August, 1, p. 2-4).

"Died. In this city, July 31, Mr. Samuel Wilson, aged 88 years. Funeral services will be held this (Tuesday) afternoon at 3 o'clock, at his late residence, 76 Ferry st." (*Troy Daily Whig*, August 1, p. 2-6). The hasty burial may have been due to the fact that cholera was then raging in Troy. See *Troy Daily Traveller*, August 2 and 4.

It will be observed that in the above notices, written for the Troy papers, there is no allusion to the Uncle Sam story. In the *Albany Evening Journal* of August 1, 1854, appeared the following, which I copy from the *New York Tribune* of August 4: "'Uncle Sam.'—The death of Samuel Wilson, an aged, worthy and formerly

Before returning to the story related by Frost, there is one further piece of evidence to be presented. Under date of Albany September 17, 1812, was printed in the *Albany Gazette* in September and October of that year an advertisement which was in part as follows:

"SLAUGHTERING & INSPECTION.

"WILSON and KINNICUT, take this method to inform their friends and the public in general, that they have made considerable improvements in their Slaughter House in Albany, where they will put up Beef and Pork on as reasonable terms as any body in the state."¹⁰⁶

While I have been unable to identify the members of this firm of Wilson and Kinnicut, the advertisement is of interest; and it is certain that there was a Wilson family

enterprising citizen of Troy, will remind those who were familiar with incidents of the War of 1812, of the origin of the popular subriquet [sic] for the 'United States.' Mr. Wilson, who was an extensive packer, had the contract for supplying the northern army with beef and pork. He was everywhere known and spoken of as 'Uncle Sam,' and the 'U.S.' branded on the heads of barrels for the army were at first taken to be the initials for 'Uncle Sam' Wilson, but finally lost their local significance and became, throughout the army, the familiar term for 'United States.' The Wilsons were among the earliest and most active citizens of Troy. 'Uncle Sam,' who died yesterday, was 84 years old" (p. 3-6).

The same notice was printed in the *Troy Daily Budget* of August 2, p. 3-3; and in the *Troy Daily Whig* of August 3, p. 3-2. In the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1854, was printed the following: "WILSON, Mr. Samuel, Troy, N. Y. 31 July, æ. 88. It was from this gentleman that the United States received the name of *Uncle Sam*. It came in this way,—Mr. Wilson had extensive contracts for supplying the army with pork and beef, in the war of 1812. He was then familiarly known as *Uncle Sam* Wilson. His brand upon his barrels was of course U. S. The transition from United States to *Uncle Sam* was so easy, that it was at once made, and the name of the packer of the U. S. provisions was immediately transferred to the government, and became familiar, not only throughout the army, but the whole country" (VIII, 377).

¹⁰⁶ *Albany Gazette*, September 24, 1812, p. 1-1; October 12, p. 1-1. The Troy papers of September and October, 1812, have been searched in vain for this advertisement. It is of course possible that the Wilson of the firm of Wilson and Kinnicut of Albany was Samuel Wilson of Troy, but it would be rash to assert their identity.

The name Kinnicut does not appear in the Albany Directory for 1813, the first published. An advertisement dated July 9, 1805, in regard to "Fresh goods just received by Pierce & Kinnicut," was printed in the *Troy Northern Budget* of September 3, 1805 (p. 1-3); and in a previous issue of the same paper occurred the name of Robert S. Kinnicut. A notice, dated December 14, 1815, of the dissolution by mutual consent of partnership of the firm of R. S. Kinnicut and Zebina Sturtevant was printed in the *Albany Register* of June 7, 1816, (p. 1-3). In the Albany Directory for 1813 appeared the name of "Sturdivant, Zebina, grocer" (Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, 1854, V. 89).

in Albany and that one or more members of it were named Samuel.¹⁰⁶

If we compare the facts as brought out in these extracts with the story as related by Frost, it must be acknowledged that in many respects the latter is not inconsistent with the former. It has been proved that Anderson was a contractor; that Ebenezer and Samuel Wilson owned a slaughtering establishment; and that Ebenezer Wilson at least was an inspector.¹⁰⁷ If absolute proof is lacking that the Wilsons received contracts for the supply of beef, that Samuel Wilson was an inspector, and that Samuel Wilson was commonly called "Uncle Sam" Wilson, yet these statements are so extremely probable that their truth may well be conceded.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the story is plausible and there is no *a priori* objection to be raised against it.

On the other hand, certain facts militate strongly against the story. First, the nickname Uncle Sam, so far from springing into existence at the outbreak of the war, did not make its appearance until the war was half over. Secondly, the absence of any trace of the story until 1842—or a generation after the event—is ominous. Thirdly, a remarkable feature of the obituary notices of Samuel Wilson which were written for the Troy newspapers deserves to be dwelt upon. Not one of them connected Samuel Wilson with Uncle Sam. It is true that the Uncle Sam story is found in two Troy papers, but in each case it was copied from an Albany paper.¹⁰⁹ This fact, coupled with the

¹⁰⁶ The Albany Directory for 1813 contained the names of Ishmael Wilson, laborer; Newman Wilson, teamster; Samuel Wilson, potter; and widow Martha Wilson, teacher. Samuel Wilson was a constable in the Second Ward. (Munsell's Annals of Albany, V. 47, 97.) Mrs. Jane Wilson, wife of Samuel Wilson, globe manufacturer, died May 8, 1827. (Munsell's Annals of Albany, 1856, VII, 124.) Samuel Wilson, of the firm of James Wilson & Son, died at Schodack on August 29, 1830. (Munsell's Annals of Albany, 1858, IX, 215).

¹⁰⁷ See the obituary notice of Ebenezer Wilson, p. 55, above.

¹⁰⁸ I am indebted to Mr. Weise for courteous replies to several queries. He writes me: "The fact that the Wilsons received contracts for the supply of beef to the troops encamped at the cantonment at Greenbush, and that Samuel Wilson was an inspector, together with the information respecting the sites of the Wilson slaughtering houses in Troy, I obtained from old inhabitants of Troy intimately acquainted with the two brothers." Mr. Weise adds that the notes taken by him when preparing his various books on Troy are stored and so are inaccessible at present.

¹⁰⁹ See p. 57, note 104, above. •

further fact that no book about Troy contained the story until 1876, seems to indicate that the popular story is not native to Troy.¹¹⁰ Fourthly, the statement that "the letters U. S., for United States, were then almost entirely new," is not only so preposterous as to be beyond belief, but can be proved to be untrue. As a matter of fact, the abbreviations U. S. or U. States, as also G. B. or G. Britain, were common early in the nineteenth century,¹¹¹ and it would no more have been possible for men in 1813 to ask the meaning of the letters U. S. than would such an inquiry be possible now. Fifthly, the early evidence, while it may not be absolutely conclusive, not only fails to corroborate the Wilson story but strongly points to another conclusion; while the earliest known example of Uncle Sam is from a Troy paper, but *without* reference to Samuel Wilson. Sixthly,

¹¹⁰ See *The Trojan Sketch Book*, edited by Miss Abba A. Goddard (1846); Hunt's *Merchants Magazine* for June, 1846, XIV, 515-523; D. O. Kellogg's *City of Troy* (1847); Hunt's *Merchants Magazine* for September, 1849, XXI, 298-305; John Woodworth's *Reminiscences of Troy* (1853, second edition in 1860). Mr. Weise's *History of the City of Troy* was published in 1876.

¹¹¹ "The army of the U.S." (*Salem Gazette*, January 21, 1812, p. 3-2). "An ambitious president . . . might march the militia . . . out of the U. S. and keep the whole of the regular force within" (*Connecticut Courant*, January 22, 1812, p. 3-4). "The Gull Traps which are now set through the U. States" (*Columbian Centinel*, February 19, 1812, p. 2-2). "Equipped at the expense of the U.S." (*Salem Gazette*, July 31, 1812, p. 3-2). "The army of the U.S." (*Yankee*, August 21, 1812, p. 3-2). "Which cost the U.S. five dollars to transport to Greenbush" (*Columbian Centinel*, September 26, 1812, p. 2-2). "War . . . between the U.S. and G.B." (*Columbian Centinel*, December 19, 1812, p. 2-3). "Four regiments of U.S. troops" (*Columbian Centinel*, December 26, 1812, p. 2-3). "The enemies of the U. States" (*New York Spectator*, January 9, 1813, p. 2-5). "The President of the U. States" (*National Intelligencer*, January 12, 1813, p. 3-1). "The U. S. Senate" (*New York Spectator*, February 11, 1813, p. 1-1). "What shall we say of her conduct during the present war with the U.S.?" (*National Intelligencer*, April 3, 1813, p. 3-4). "A regiment of U. S. troops" (*Columbian Centinel*, June 16, 1813, p. 2-4). "The Navy of the U.S." (*Yankee*, July 23, 1813, p. 3-1). "U.S. Law" (*New England Palladium*, August 31, 1813, p. 1-1). "Gen. Varnum, . . . (whose recent votes in the U. States' Senate shew, that he is beginning to reflect)" (*New England Palladium*, September 3, 1813). All these citations, which could be multiplied indefinitely, are of an earlier date than the first appearance of Uncle Sam. A few instances previous to 1812 may be given. "Major Rice of Hingham, we are informed, is appointed a Colonel in the U.S. army" (*Columbian Centinel*, October 27 1798, p. 2-4). "The President of the U. States" (*Columbian Centinel*, March 20, 1799, p. 2-2). "Christopher Gore, Esq. Commissioner of the U. S. at the Court of London" (*Columbian Centinel*, March 20, 1799, p. 2-4). "The President of the U.S." (*Columbian Centinel*, March 14, 1807, p. 2-3). But while, as thus seen, the initials U. S. were perfectly familiar to Americans in 1812 and 1813, yet no doubt the war with England made them still more common. Attention may also be called to the example of "U.Sam" quoted on p. 37, above.

the apparent fact that the nickname was at first used somewhat derisively does not tend to confirm the popular yarn.

Finally, in connection with the Wilson story, we must consider a stanza in a song said to have been sung about 1789. Much has been written about "the original Yankee Doodle song." The song thus generally spoken of begins with the line "Father and I went down to camp." In Act I, Scene III, of Andrew Barton's "The Disappointment: Or, The Force of Credulity: A New American Comic Opera," printed in 1767, the air of Yankee Doodle made its first known appearance under that name.¹¹³ When the British troops arrived at Boston in 1768 it was stated, under date of September 29 of that year, that "the Yankey Doodle Song was the Capital Piece in their Band of Music;"¹¹³ and, much to the annoyance of the good people of Boston, the British persisted in playing the air at intervals for another seven years. As the "Father and I" song was written not earlier than 1775, obviously it could not have been "the original" Yankee Doodle song. In 1824, J. Farmer and J. B. Moore, believing that "the burlesque song... is passing into oblivion," gave "a copy of the song as it was printed thirty-five years since, and as it was troll'd in our Yankee circles of that day."¹¹⁴ As printed by Farmer and Moore, the song had eleven stanzas, the tenth being as follows:

"Old uncle Sam. *come* there to change
Some pancakes and some onions,
For *lasses cakes*, to carry home
To give his wife and young ones."

That this version was actually printed in 1789 rests upon the assertion of Farmer and Moore. This Society owns a copy of "The Yankey's Return from Camp" which was

¹¹³ Page 22. A copy of the opera in the Ridgway branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia has written in ink on the title page, "by Col. Thomas Forrest of Germantown. S." Who "S." was, I do not know. John F. Watson also stated that "Mr. Forrest wrote a very humorous play, (which I have seen printed)" (*Annals of Philadelphia*, 1830, p. 232).

¹¹³ *New York Journal*, October 13, 1768, p. 2-2.

¹¹⁴ *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous; and Monthly Literary Journal*, III, 158, 159.

probably printed in 1813.¹¹⁵ The Boston Public Library owns a copy, entitled "The Farmer and his Son's return from a visit to the Camp,"¹¹⁶ which I believe to be earlier¹¹⁷ than the version in the library of this Society. In 1857 it was stated that "the verses commencing 'Father and I went down to camp,' were written by a gentleman of Connecticut, a short time after Gen. Washington's last visit to New England."¹¹⁸ 'Now this visit was made in 1789, and, curiously enough, it was in that very year that Royall Tyler's play of "The Contrast" was acted; and in that play, published in 1790, the words made their earliest known appearance in print.¹¹⁹ The stanza quoted above is first

¹¹⁵ It is in a collection of Songs, Ballads, etc., in three volumes, presented to the Society by Isaiah Thomas in August, 1814, and stated by him to have been "Purchased from a Ballad Printer and Seller, in Boston, 1813. Bound up for Preservation—to shew what the articles of this kind are in vogue with the Vulgar at this time, 1814." In 1903 the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale printed this version in his *New England History in Ballads*, pp. 116-120.

¹¹⁶ My attention was called to this in 1901 by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, who kindly sent me a blue print of it. As the library officials have for years been unable to find the volume containing the original, my blue print is valuable. The title, and the fact that at the top of the broadside is a cut of a drummer and three soldiers, make me think that this version is older than the other.

¹¹⁷ By earlier, I merely mean that it was printed earlier. The words of the two versions are practically identical.

¹¹⁸ *Historical Magazine*, I, 92.

¹¹⁹ *The Contrast*, Act III, Scene i, p. 45. For purposes of comparison, I give the first stanza. Tyler has it:

"Father and I went up to camp,
Along with Captain Goodwin;
And there we saw the men and boys,
As thick as hasty-pudding."

The version owned by this Society reads:

"Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Gooding,
And there we see the men and boys,
As thick as hasty-pudding."

The Farmer and Moore version is as follows:

"Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Goodwin,
Where we see the men and boys
As thick as Hasty-puddin'."

It is of course possible that my blue print is earlier than 1789, but its date is purely conjectural.

Dr. Hale writes: "An autograph note of Judge Dawes, of the Harvard class of 1777, addressed to my father, says that the author of the well-known lines was Edward Bangs, who graduated with him." It is curious that some (but not all) of the lines should have first been printed in a play written by a member of the Harvard class of 1776.

found in the version of 1824 and is not in either of the three versions certainly printed in or before 1813. Hence we cannot, without better evidence, accept the Farmer and Moore stanza as antedating 1824. Yet it is perfectly possible that the stanza was written before the war of 1812,¹²⁰ and if it was, the fact would seem to be all but fatal to the Wilson story.

The third explanation of the origin of Uncle Sam is that the sobriquet was merely a jocular extension of the letters U. S. This explanation, like the Wilson story, rests purely on assumption. There is nothing in the least either unusual or remarkable in the process of abbreviating a term and then expanding it. In the amenities of political warfare in this country in 1855, it was considered the height of wit to dub a politician "D. D." and then expand the initials into something derogatory. In this way John Pettitt became "Dirty Dog," Stephen A. Douglas became "Debauched Douglas," and David R. Atchison became "Drunken Davy."¹²¹ During the same period in England, we find the same manifestation. The London Transport Corps Regiment, which was formed in 1854 and 1855 for service in the Crimea, went by the nickname of the "London Thieving Company." When its name was changed in 1857 to Military Train, it was dubbed "Murdering Thieves," "Muck Tumblers," "Muck Train," and "Moke Train,"—the third a corruption of the last, said to have been due to the employment of Spanish mules instead of horses.¹²²

¹²⁰ In a song called *Brother Jonathan*, doubtless written in 1798, when war with France was thought imminent, and printed in 1800 in *The Nightingale; or Rural Songster* (Dedham), p. 118, is found this stanza:

"I think it's darned wrong, be sure,
Because we us'd 'em clever;
An' uncle vums a sailor works
Much harder than a weaver."

Throughout the war of 1812, song after song was written to the air of *Yankee Doodle*.

¹²¹ An article headed "The D.D.'s," which was printed in the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* of August 25, 1855, begins as follows: "The *Missouri Democrat* has a very fine article under this head. It says the politicians have lately taken upon themselves the liberty of conferring the degree of D.D. upon its voters with a most promiscuous irreverence" (p. 2-3). It states that Thomas H. Benton was responsible for the nicknames applied to Pettitt and Douglas.

¹²² *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, V, 380, 439 (May 12, June 2, 1900); Tenth Series, VII, 257 (March 30, 1907).

I can well remember how, as a boy, I used to wonder whether General Grant had actually been christened U. S. and whether those letters stood for the United States. I have since learned that Grant was called not only "United States" Grant, but also "Uncle Sam" Grant, "Unconditional Surrender" Grant, and "United we Stand" Grant.¹²³ During the past decade the South African War has enabled us to observe these nicknames in the very making. A London newspaper of January 14, 1900, asserted that "by a facetious adaptation of initials as Roman numerals [C. I. V.], the City of London Imperial Volunteers, now on their way to the front, achieve the title of the 104th, an appellation likely to commend itself to the regiment."¹²⁴ Nicknames have a way of disappearing rapidly, but this particular one seems to have stuck.¹²⁵ But it was by no means the only one in which the C. I. V. rejoiced. Those who opposed the war invented "Chamberlain's Innocent Victims," while Tommy Atkins converted the initials into "Can I Venture?" A more unpleasant nickname was "Covered In Vermin."¹²⁶ The Imperial Yeomanry were collectively called "Innocent Youths."¹²⁷

Does the history of the term Uncle Sam, now given for the first time, tend to support or to overthrow this explanation of the origin of the sobriquet? While the initials U. S. were well known in 1812 and 1813, yet no doubt the war made them still more common. "The letters U. S.," explained the *Troy Post* of September 7, 1813, "on the government waggons, &c are supposed to have given rise

¹²³ See W. F. G. Shanks's *Personal Recollections of distinguished Generals* (1866), p. 117.

¹²⁴ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, V. 104 (February 10, 1900).

¹²⁵ *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, X, 503 (December 27, 1902).

¹²⁶ *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, X, 503 (December 27, 1902).

¹²⁷ *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, X, 503 (December 27, 1902).

By a still further exercise of humor, an article in an English journal on the London "Bobby" is headed "Robert Again" (*Black and White*, July 25, 1903, XXVI, 110); while the *London Times* converts Tommy Atkins into "Mr. Thomas Atkins." Similarly, Uncle Sam becomes Uncle Samuel, of which an instance dated 1816 has already been given. (See p. 41, above.) "Our good Uncle Samuel," wrote General Randolph B. Marcy in 1872 (*Border Reminiscences*, p. 66). A letter which appeared in the *Philadelphia Aurora* of October 14, 1812, was signed "Johannes Taurus" (p. 1-1).

to it."¹²⁸ On October 1, 1813, a writer spoke of "Uncle Sam, the now popular explication of the U. S."¹²⁹ By implication it may be inferred that this was the view of Paulding in 1831,¹³⁰ of Abdy in 1835,¹³¹ and of an unknown Englishman in 1838.¹³² It was stated at the beginning of this paper that the history of nicknames usually follows one general course,—that those who, at the time of origin, perhaps know the real explanation do not record it, and that later people begin guessing. Must it not be admitted that Uncle Sam is an exception to the rule? that those who first used the sobriquet did record its origin? and that the explanation they gave is the true explanation?

¹²⁸ See p. 33, above.

¹²⁹ See p. 34, above.

¹³⁰ See p. 43, above.

¹³¹ See p. 44, above.

¹³² See p. 45, above.

It need hardly be pointed out that the word "uncle" has long been employed in this country. In a play written in 1815, David Humphreys made Doolittle, the Yankee hero, thus soliloquize about the Countess St. Luc, another character in the play: "I like her tu; though she is so tarnation strange and sad, by what I larnt jest now. She's quite a decent, clever woman—ladyship, I shoold say; about as nice and tidy a crittur as ever trod shews'-leather. (*Looking at the glass as he passes, and admiring himself*) Well! my fortin's made. I woodn't give that (*snapping his fingers*) to call the *President* and all the *Congress* 'Uncle!' Why, I am as fine as a fiddle" (Act I, p. 39). On September 3, 1838, Hawthorne said: "The Revolutionary pensioners come out into the sunshine to make oath that they are still above ground. One, whom Mr. S—— saluted as 'Uncle John,' went into the bar-room, walking pretty stoutly by the aid of a long, oaken staff" (*American Note-Books*, 1883, I, 190). In 1853 Lowell wrote: "'Do you think it will rain?' With the caution of a veteran *gusper*, he evaded a direct reply. 'Wahl, they *du* say it's a sign o' rain comin', said he. I discovered afterwards that my interlocutor was Uncle Zeb. Formerly, every New England town had its representative uncle. He was not a pawnbroker, but some elderly man who, for want of more defined family ties, had gradually assumed this avuncular relation to the community" (*Moosehead Journal*, *Prose Works*, 1890, I, 16). The *Salem Gazette* of June 13, 1815, contained a paragraph headed, "The Cogitations of Uncle John" (p. 3-2). It has already been pointed out that Timothy Pickering was nicknamed "Uncle Tim," See p. 26, above.

**THOREAU'S MATERNAL GRANDFATHER
ASA DUNBAR:**

**FRAGMENTS FROM HIS DIARY AND COMMON-
PLACE BOOK.¹**

COMMUNICATED BY E. HARLOW RUSSELL.

The interest, whether much or little, that may lie in the document to which I have the honor to invite your brief attention, is twofold, or has two sources: First, the near relation of Asa Dunbar the diarist to Henry Thoreau, one of the most original, perspicacious and suggestive writers that America has produced; and secondly, the ever-interesting period of our history which is reflected, though for the most part dimly and brokenly, in its scanty pages.

As to the first point, we are admonished by the voice of science that laymen had better refrain from speaking overconfidently with regard to heredity—at least until the rival hypotheses that now divide the opinions of leading scientific men shall have been brought into more harmonious and comprehensible adjustment. Moreover, common sense should restrain us from the conceit of singling out a distinguished or favorite ancestor, ignoring the other three or other seven, and tracing from him alone whatever desirable qualities his descendants may exhibit or lay claim to or ask to have inferred from his superiority. But, in the meantime, while we are waiting for the verdict of science, we may perhaps continue to gratify a natural and deep-seated curiosity, not wholly unintelligent, by observing and comparing strongly-marked features, bodily and mental, that reappear in varying strength, whatever the cause or mode, in successive generations.

¹The original manuscript volume, by gift of Mr. Russell, is now in the possession of the Society.

Mr. F. B. Sanborn, in his careful and authoritative biography of Henry Thoreau, speaking of the four children born to John Thoreau and Cynthia Dunbar, says: "The two eldest, John and Helen, were said to be 'clear Thoreau,' and the others, Henry and Sophia, 'clear Dunbar'." This naturally directs our attention to Henry's mother, the youngest of the seven children of Asa Dunbar and Mary Jones. By all accounts she was a woman of marked individuality, handsome, vivacious, and, according to Mr. Sanborn, who was for a time an inmate of her household, "with sharp and sudden flashes of gossip and malice, which never quite amounted to ill-nature, but greatly provoked the prim and commonplace respectability that she so often came in contact with." By the same authority we are assured of her excessive loquacity, insomuch, he says, that "her conversation generally put a stop to other occupations;" but he does not fail to add that "along with this humorous quality, there went also an affectionate earnestness in her relation with those who depended on her." It is notable that this gift of expression appears unmistakably, indeed conspicuously, though in somewhat different modes of manifestation, in the three generations under consideration, most of all in the grandson.

The two professions, the clerical and the legal, chosen and practised with considerable distinction by Asa Dunbar, both require the qualification of facile and effective discourse, and the reputation which he enjoyed, first as a clergyman and subsequently as a lawyer, easily warrants the inference that he was a forcible and persuasive speaker, though with exactly what graces of oratory I have not been able to learn. His eminent grandson, whenever he spoke in public, did so with directness, precision, force and pungency, but with evident disdain of elocution, or what Webster calls "the graces taught in the schools," and there is no evidence that Thoreau possessed the gift of oratory. He was a writer rather than a speaker, and his grandfather's Commonplace Book clearly shows that he also bestowed great pains upon the form of his public utterances and even upon private letters and notes. This brief diary, which

Mr. Sanborn aptly calls "a faint foreshadowing of his grandson's copious journals," shows but the barest outline or skeleton of the life he led, the entries being comparatively few, often widely separated, and for the most part condensed to the utmost. About two-thirds of the thin volume is taken up with forms or rehearsals of public prayers, written out in full, to be used in various clerical functions, as stated Sabbath services, marriages, funerals, baptisms, etc., and similar careful drafts of letters, and two or three pieces of a humorous character, which we shall come to later, all tending to show that the grandfather, like the grandson, took easily and often to his pen. And I may mention, by the way, that in so trivial a matter as handwriting there is a considerable resemblance, made more apparent, no doubt, by the fact that both used the quill pen. Both, also, were careless spellers, a thing less surprising in the grandfather, at a time when orthography was comparatively unsettled, than in the scholarly and scrupulous writer of two generations later.

In a burlesque narrative of the Students' Rebellion at Harvard College in 1766, written in scriptural language, undoubtedly by Dunbar himself, he is designated as "Asa the Scribe," and he was not only the historian of that affair, but the spokesman of the rebellious students. His amusing account of their side of that uprising, which at its height threatened very serious consequences, is included in an able and exhaustive paper on the Rebellion communicated recently to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, by Mr. William C. Lane. Emerson says of Thoreau that he was "a protestant *a l' outrance*, and we see evidence in the attitude of young Dunbar that the blood of dissent, of which Henry Thoreau so liberally partook, was in active circulation a half-century at least before it reached his veins.

In the same vein and style with the narrative just mentioned, he writes a reminiscent account of an incident which took place in a school that he was keeping in the town of Mystic, now, I suppose, Medford, or its vicinity.¹ It illus-

¹I am indebted to our associate, Mr. William E. Foster, for the suggestion that the "Mistick" referred to may have been a locality in what is now the township of Groton, Conn.

trates at once the humor and ingenuity of the writer, and at the same time throws a ray of light upon New England school-keeping in colonial days.

"THE BOOK OF ASA THE SCRIBE.

CHAPTER I.

1. There was a man of pontiquinum [Dunbar was born in the town of Bridgewater, the home of his father's family.] whose name was Asa: the same also, whenas he had none inheritance in pontiquinum, went down into Mistick to sojourn there.

2. Moreover Asa was a wise man, and skilled in all the learning of the harvardites.

3. And it came to pass, when the mistickites saw Asa, that he was a wise man and skilled in all the learning of the Harvardites, that they spake one to another, saying,

4. Do not our children and our servants suffer for lack of instruction? and we ourselves have no time to instruct them, for the labour that is upon our hands.

5. And behold we have victuals and lodging, and mony in our purses, and our young men be very numerous..

6. Go to now therefore, let us entreat Asa, & give him mony, even sixty shekles of silver, & make Asa ruler of the pedagogue to instruct our sons & our servants.

7. And the mistickites did so, & entreated Asa, & offered him sixty shekles of silver, & Asa consented to their entreaties.

8. So Asa instructed the children & the servants of the mistickites, three months, for sixty shekles of silver.

9. And Asa lodged at the house of one Joseph a brickmaker, which standeth over against the pedagogue, as thou passest thro the gate, towards the north, by the house of Ebenezer the priest.

10. And it was so, that when Asa entered in thro. the door into the pedagogue, he uncovered his head & bowed himself unto the youngmen of the mistickites.

11. Then also the children and the servants of the mistickites, & all the young men rose up & bowed themselves unto Asa & did obeysance.

CHAPTER 2.

1. Now it came to pass in process of time, when Asa went to execute his office in the pedagogue, that he bowed himself as heretofore, & all the young men rose up and bowed themselves & made obeysance.

2. But Andrew the son of Benjamin rose not up nor made obeysance, neither regarded he him at all.

3. Then Asa when he saw that Andrew rose not up ~~neither~~ regarded him at all, went unto his own place, & ~~sat down &~~ called Andrew unto him & spake, saying,

4. Wherefore do I behold this thing in thee? & why hast thou done thus? to set an evil example before the young men.

5. Now therefore I will punish thee with stripes that the young men may see & be afraid, lest peradventure they also be disobedient.

6. Then Andrew fell on his knees & wept bitterly, with many tears, & said unto Asa, forgive, O Sir, I pray thee, & let thine anger be turned away from me, & surely thy servant will do no more so foolishly.

7. Then Asa had compassion on Andrew, & raised him up, & spake comfortably to him & forgave him, & laid no stripes upon him.

8. Moreover it came to pass after many days, when the fear of Asa had ceased to make Andrew afraid, that behold he again also rose not up, nor made obeysance, neither regarded him at all.

9. Then the anger of Asa was kindled a second time against Andrew, more than at the first, & Asa reprov'd Andrew, saying,

10. Is not this the second time that thou hast delt thus impudently with me? And surely the first time I forgave thee, because of thy tears, & thy promises, & thine entreaties.

11. Now therefore why hast thou done thus impudently again, to set an evil example before the young men?

12. And Andrew was silent, neither opened he his mouth to answer any thing to all the words which Asa had spoken unto him: for he stood guilty.

13. And when Asa saw that he answer'd not a word, neither humbled himself as at the first time, then was Asa exceding wroth & his anger burned against Andrew.

14. Moreover Asa smote Andrew on his ear, with the palm of his hand, insomuch that he fell down at his feet, as one having no strength.

15. And when the children & the servants of the mistickites saw what was done, they were sore afraid; & all the young men did exceedingly quake & tremble for fear of Asa, for his fear fell on them all.

16. Therefore none of the young men did after the example of Andrew, but rose up & bowed themselves, & made obeysance lest the wrath of Asa should fall on them as it had done on Andrew their brother, before their eyes."

The diary shows in several places a thoughtful and philosophic turn of mind, a quality remarkably developed in Thoreau and pervading all his writings.

When, at the age of twenty-seven, Mr. Dunbar was settled in the ministry, at Salem, as colleague with Rev. Thomas Barnard, it appears from a letter to his father that his "sallery" was to be £133-6-8 a year. A few months later, with the prospect of a family to support, he must have felt the severe limitations of his income, but he consoles himself with this reflection:

"Half pay is better than no pay. Covetousness is Idolatry." Here is another reflection: "Make a man believe he is virtuous & he will not behave dishonorably." And another: "Suspicion & jealousy arise from y^e ignorance of somewhat; yet y^e most ignorant are not always y^e most suspicious." He does not over-estimate the persuasiveness of his ministry: "None are so deaf," he writes, "as they that will not hear. I see by visiting that my preaching does but little good." Here is a word of frank dissent: "Let no man pretend to prefection, for brother Willard & I cannot think alike." This brother Willard, then minister at Beverly, was afterwards president of Harvard College. On Wednesday, July 24, 1773, "Commencement at Cambridge." Next day, "dined at Mrs. Goldthwait's." On the day following the dinner the only entry is, "*Dissipatio mentis est ruina.*" But he got home to Salem Saturday night, and writes for Sunday: "Preached all day. Married a Couple at even."

What there is of the diary begins with the month of July, 1773, the year following his settlement at Salem, and marked for the young couple by the birth of their first child. The draft of a letter to Mrs. Dunbar's father, Colonel Jones, announcing the event, begins as follows:

"Dear Sir, I have y^e happiness of informing you that Mrs. Dunbar is comfortably abed with a Daughter. She was delivered about three O'Clk this morning, after a moderate illness of thirty-six hours. Her circumstances seem very agreeable, & y^e child is a perfect & promising child. We have already named her after both her grand-Mammas and her immediate mother, and we will endeavor that she shall not disgrace y^e name wh. they have born with so much honor."

In December, 1774, he records that "Doctr. Lathome came to Town to inoculate for y^e small pox in Salem Hos-

pital." And it appears that Mr. Dunbar decided to become one of Dr. Lathome's patients. "Jan. 3d, 1774, Began to take Phisic preparatory to y^e small pox." Jan. 7th, "Went to y^e Hospital & was inoculated for y^e small pox." Jan. 9th, "Preached at y^e Hospital upon temperance." Jan. 15, "Symptoms at their hight. wrote a sermon." Jan. 16th, "Preached at y^e Hospital upon chearfulness." Jan. 23, "Broke out at y^e fullest." Jan. 30th, "Very much unstrung with taking phisic." Jan 31st, "Left y^e Hospital this morning." Thus the siege had occupied within two days of a month.

Of the stirring times that ushered in the Revolution, the diary affords a few brief glimpses. On the 16th of May, 1774, "Governor Gage arrived about this time," and on the 2nd of June, "General Gage came to town." April 19, 1775, "Hostilities commenced at Concord & Lexington." It seems that Dunbar's father-in-law, Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, was a tory, and that several of his sons were not only sympathetic but active on the British side, and on the 1st of May of this year, the journal speaks of Jones's cattle, "hey" & servant being "attached." On the 5th he says, "Company at my house after Jonas Jones—went to headquarters with him;" and on the 9th, "attended Jones before y^e Com^o of Correspondence;" and a few days later, "attend again before y^e Com^o." Mr. Sanborn states that two of Mrs. Dunbar's brothers, sons of Col. Jones, were apprehended for toryism and imprisoned in Concord gaol, from which one of them, Josiah was "assisted" to make his escape and flee to the British provinces. Dunbar records the event in this wise: Oct. 4, 1775, "Josiah Jones broke out of Concord gaol." On the 27th he records, "Battle at Chelsea." On Wednesday, May 31st, "President Langdon preached to y^e Congress, Watertown;" and next day, "Convention at Watertown." He was living at this time in Weston, but continued his ministry in Salem, going thither weekly. On the memorable Saturday, June 17, he says, "prevented from going to Salem by y^e battle at Charlestown." On the 4th of March, 1776, he records that "y^e militia went to Roxbury," on occasion of the Town meeting, and returned

three days later, and on the 17th of May following he records a "Continental fast." On Sunday, the 26th he says, "Preached all day, spake against y^e test act."

Before this period, in the draft of a public prayer for Sunday morning service, he writes with due loyalty, "May thy servant George, our King, our gracious queen, & all y^e royal family long live in peace on earth, be extensive blessings in y^e world, & hereafter be crowned with immortal life and glory. May y^e british islands in y^e sea rejoice in thy goodness, & these colonies on y^e continent ever flourish before thee." A passage in one of his later prayers, apparently on an occasion of public thanksgiving, breathes a strain of grateful exultation under a changed condition of things: "We thank thee that thou hast so far supported us in our exertions against our enemies, & so far seconded our endeavors to maintain & secure our natural rights & privileges. We adore thee, especially, that in a late instance of divine interposition, in wh. thine arm, O Lord of hosts & God of armies, very conspicuously appears, thou hast given us a complete victory over a whole army. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be y^e praise; for thine is y^e power and y^e glory & y^e victory. We thank thee that thou hast preserved y^e lives of so many of our officers and soldiers, and especially y^e important life of our illustrious Commander in chief. We adore thy wisdom and goodness that y^e Union of these American states has been so happily continued, and apparently strengthened."

There is evidence in these pages that Mr. Dunbar had something of the colonial thrift that was a part of the life of the time. He records the purchase of a horse and of a load of hay. A day or two after the battle of Bunker Hill is this entry: "Fixed my sythes for mowing," and a month later, "Finished mowing my upland." He secured summer pasturage at a considerable distance, as appears from the following entries: "May 16, 1775. Went to Prince Town with cattle to pasture." "Yearlings came home from Princetown, with y^e two fat cows." And a few weeks later, "The two-year-olds came home from Princetown." A few items of debit and credit are given:

"Rec'd 102 lbs. flax cost £6-2-0". "Dr. for Gown & paper, £5-10-0. Cr. for bed, £3-1-0. Dr. for family expenses, £1-12-8. Dr. for loaf sugar £0-18-0. Cr. for cash £6-0-0." The entry, "Stock in trade £50-0-0" is not quite clear, unless he refers to transactions connected with his farming.

The shadow of frequent illness hangs over the whole diary. He speaks of it as "ye Cholic," and the frequency, disabling severity, and length of the seizures are extraordinary and pitiable. In August, 1775, he writes diagonally down the page covering three-fourths of the month: "Cholic very bad a long time & little intermission." These attacks so seriously interrupted the stated duties of his ministry that he finally felt obliged to abandon the profession, and addressed a formal and touching letter to his church, beginning thus: "Such is the general state of my health that I judge it expedient for me to ask a dismissal from your service in the Gospel ministry. This request I doubt not you will think to be reasonable, and I hope your compliance with it will be greatly to your own interest." This was in April, 1779, when he was thirty-four years old. He renders to the Society a scrupulous account of what he has received from them by taxation, subscription, and private donations, from which it appears that they are considerably in his debt, but such was their good will towards him that they voted him £700, a sum £50 in excess of what was legally due.

A new life opened for Asa Dunbar when, a few years later, he was admitted to the New Hampshire bar and established himself in the practice of law at Keene, where he soon rose to prominence in his profession and was highly respected as a citizen. He was a zealous Freemason, and there is preserved in the library of our Society a pamphlet bearing the following lengthy title: "An Oration: delivered at the Reverend T. Harrington's Church, Lancaster, June 25th, Anno Lucis, 5781, upon the Festival of St. John the Baptist; in presence of The Brethren of Trinity Lodge, No. 6, of the most ancient & honorable Society of Free & Accepted Masons, under the Jurisdiction of the most worshipful Grand Lodge in Boston, Commonwealth of Mass-

achusetts, by our Rev. Brother A. Dunbar. Worcester, (Massachusetts) Printed by Brother Isaiah Thomas MDCCLXXXI (A. L. 5781)."

All accounts of Henry Thoreau agree with Emerson's emphatic testimony that he "was sincerity itself, and might fortify the convictions of prophets in the ethical laws by his holy living;" that he was "a truth-speaker, capable of the most deep and strict conversation."

Let me quote a passage from his grandfather's Masonic oration, just mentioned, which shows the same moral fibre, though in a relation and service quite too formal and artificial, I imagine, for the grandson's taste.

"It is justly characteristic of a wise man to *build* his house upon a rock;—that is to say—upon a foundation that will not fail him. And when we pass into *metaphor*, and *allegory*, and consider happiness at large, as a *building* which every man is concerned in erecting for himself, wisdom, without doubt, requires no less care, than in literal *architecture* that the basis be sure and immovable. This basis can be no other than *truth*. Truth is the foundation upon which whoever builds as a skilful *mason* resteth his whole structure. He never acts a falsehood, nor makes a refuge of lies his confidence."

When in 1773, President Locke, of Harvard College, suddenly tendered his resignation, for which the records of the college, as stated in Quincy's History (II. p. 160), "assigned no motive, and expressed no regret," Dunbar's diary, after recording specifically the occasion of the resignation, utters this lamentation over the event: "O Locke! How soon and how shamefully art thou fallen from y^e highest pinnacle of prosperity into y^e lowest abyss of adversity!"

In the midst of an active life, with a young family about him, while holding two important town offices, Asa Dunbar died, June 22, 1787, exactly one month after the birth of his daughter Cynthia, who, in 1812, married John Thoreau, and, in 1817, became the mother of Henry David Thoreau. Grandfather and grandson both died in their prime, in the fifth decade of their lives, at forty-two and forty-six years, respectively.

Poet and philosopher as Thoreau was, dealing daily in his thought and with his pen with the most serious things of life, nothing could quench the flow of humor which issued

from the very depths of his nature. It was so native to him that it often seems an intrusion upon the graver moods of his writing, and his friend and biographer Channing speaks of his rubbing out, upon revision, the more humorous part of some of his articles, and saying, "I cannot bear the levity I find;" and Channing adds, "As to his laughing, no one did that more or better." It is not surprising, then, to discover that gleams of humor and fun often light up the clerical decorum of his reverend grandfather's diary and Commonplace-book, as already instanced. On March 4, 1774, he says, "Our Cow bro't to bed of a girl baby." Of what must have been a rough trip across-lots he writes, "Rode with Dr. Putnam to see his wood lot & did not breack my neck."

Wit, playfulness, literary facility, and a glimpse at the way in which strong drink was regarded in his day, are shown in the verses that conclude our little volume and end the present paper.

"To Mr. Flagg Upon receiving some Jamaica Spirit of Him.

In days of yore, when grog was scase,
 No soul could ever write a verse
 Unless some heathen pow'r inspir'd
 The passion, which y' poet fir'd.
 In short y' Muses all must join,
 To dictate ev'ry gen'rous line.
 Yet these shall pass by me uncourted;
 My song is otherwise supported.
 You may in truth ascribe its merit
 To th' only force of india-spirit.
 No other pow'r I here invoke,
 To furnish out a single stroke;
 I ask y' aid of grog alone,
 And by its help my verse goes on.
 This noble spirit does impart,
 The most sublime poetic art;
 It fills y' soul with grateful flame
 T'ward him from whom y' spirit came;
 And while its influence I feel,
 My gratitude I can't conceal.
 So in return for all your liquor,
 I am your humble servant,

Vicar.

January 1, 1778."

AMERICA'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

BY WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE

Colonel U. S. Army (retired).

The time that has been spent in writing history would be poorly repaid if no other use could be made of the material than to file it away for occasional reference. History to-day has a broader meaning, and one of its aims should be to discover laws that will be useful in guiding the conduct of individuals or nations and perhaps ultimately in predicting future events with some degree of probability.

To this end the facts must first be reduced to a form in which they can be handled. There can be no induction without reduction by classification and comparison. If we can classify history as we classify plants in botany, we can compare like with like and learn more than if we compared objects or events that had no resemblance. History is a science, and this principle applies to all sciences.

In natural history, comparison has led to the discovery of the law of natural selection; in chemistry, to the periodic law; in philology, it has thrown light on the early history of mankind. The rules of grammar also are based upon it. A rule that has one exception in ten, points to the cause of the rule and to the cause of the exception, and reduces the work of analysis and even of memory by ninety percent. The principle applies also to algebra. When a school boy tried to reduce a polynomial by taking 9a from 15b, my honored professor would advise him that he could not subtract from sugar an old shoe. Without vouching for the rigid truth of the aphorism, it illustrates the principle that comparison should be based upon a similarity in one of the properties, factors or phases of the objects compared.

A comparison of like phases of history is useful in analysing the laws of development and in studying the effect of organic growth on the one hand, and of environment on the other; and the greater the similarity, the more significant also is the difference. The classification here proposed is based upon political history in the broadest sense. Civilization has, of course, followed the trade routes which have been studied so profitably by modern economists; and a classification might be based upon these routes; but it is better to follow the usual course, and compare the history of religion, of commerce, and of the arts and sciences, etc., with political history, than to make any other subject the basis of the general classification.

Much more has been written about Europe and America than about all the rest of the world. It is with the group of nations that grew out of the conquest of the old inhabitants of Europe by the Aryan invaders that Americans are most concerned, because all the civilizations and all the political systems from which ours has come, have been directed or controlled by these nations.

The history of the East is not so closely related to our own. It began earlier, for, about four thousand years before Christ, the little city communities in Egypt and in Babylonia coalesced into larger states, and afterwards into powerful empires; but meanwhile in Crete and on the shores and islands of the Ægean, the Mediterranean or Iberian race had developed a state and a civilization of its own.

Between one and two thousand years before Christ, the Aryans first appeared. We know from their languages that they had been associated in government or in trade, and we infer from their skulls that they were a mixture of the Asiatic and European races. They came as conquerors from the region about the Black and Caspian Seas and spread over Central and Southern Europe and Western Asia. The Indians and Persians spread out to the East. The Greeks and Thracians occupied Greece and Asia Minor. The Italians entered Italy. The Celts and other Aryan nations were for a long time outside the region of the ancient civilization, but they all kept slowly pushing on to the West.

This civilization which started in the *Ægean* Sea has been constantly expanding and has passed through similar phases in ancient and modern times. The civilized world was first broken up into rival states in Greece. When it reached Italy it expanded with a steady growth into a large nation that in turn was broken up into a number of rival states in modern Europe. When it reached America it expanded again to form a large nation.

As civilization spread, larger nations were gradually developed and the accidental resemblance in the shape of Greece and Italy on one hand, to Europe and America on the other, has given to the history of these countries a periodical course which affords a convenient basis for its classification; as the periodic law does for the classification of the chemical elements.

When the Aryans first invaded the Greek peninsula, all the islands and shores of the *Ægean* were, perhaps, united under the kings of Crete; but how far inland this dominion or influence extended, is unknown. The conquest broke up the region into a number of small communities, in most of which, the Aryans formed the governing class. The shape of the ground, cut up by bays and mountain ranges, did not favor the formation of large states.

The northern part of the Balkan peninsula, although mountainous, is not as diversified as Southern Greece, and is not cut up by the sea. The flux of population kept on longer, and civilization was slower in penetrating; but Macedonia, an Aryan state, half Greek, partly Illyrian and Thracian, gradually sprang up in the valleys north of Mount Olympus.

The Italian peninsula is not, like the Grecian, cut up by bays and mountains. The Greek civilization was brought there by the Etruscans and Greeks, and about 500 B. C., when it was well advanced in Greece, it did not extend far from the seacoast in Italy, but under its influence, strong confederations were formed by the Italians in the central part of the peninsula that were eventually united to form the Roman Republic.

The Greeks fought each other until the balance of power was destroyed, and then under the leadership of the Mace-

donians they poured into Asia, conquered the Persian Empire and divided it up.

Then all Italy was united under the Romans, and then Greece, Western Asia, Northern Africa and Western Europe were added to it, and Greek and Roman civilization spread over all this area.

Then another migration from the East and North broke up this civilization of the Mediterranean, just as the former had broken up that of the *Ægean*. The empire could not hold together in the hands of the new population that resulted from these great migrations, but while the political power of Rome was broken, its civilization kept spreading, even against the tide of migration. Europe, like Greece, cut up by bays and mountain ranges, was divided into a number of rival states.

After more than a thousand years, European civilization made its appearance in America. Central and South America were colonized from the south of Europe and Northern America from the North. The American continent is not, like the European, cut up by bays and mountain ranges. The nation that has been formed in North America by the immigrants from Northern Europe, but in which all European states are more or less represented, is now the dominant power on this continent.

The history of the East has perhaps been as much affected by the shape of the continents as that of the West, and its development has also been periodic; but this paper is only so far concerned with the East as to note that the periodic time of violent contact with the West has chanced to coincide so nearly with the periodic time of Western development that it has not materially perturbed its regular course.

The scheme of classification proposed does not differ in its general outline from that in ordinary use. Universal History is divided into Eastern and Western—Ancient and Modern. The Ancient history of the civilized West is divided into that of Greece and Rome, and the Modern history into that of Europe and America. For further classification it is proposed to compare Greek history with European and Roman with American.

Plates I and II show the outlines of the Greek and Italian peninsulas. *Ia* and *IIa* show the ancient names mentioned in the text, and *Ib* and *IIb* the names of modern countries whose positions on the European and American continents correspond with those of the ancient countries on the Greek and Italian peninsulas.

The little tables on these sketches are scales of time to aid in comparing ancient with modern history.

At the southern end of Greece (Plate I) and the western end of Europe, the southern half of the Peloponnesus, and the British Islands were protected by their position. Sparta and England developed on their own lines. The ruling class was Doric in Sparta and Norman in England. The old population was Achæan in Sparta and Anglo-Saxon in England. Messenia and Ireland were conquered, and Arcadia and Scotland were after a while united with Sparta and England.

The region about the isthmus of Corinth lies between the Ægean and the Ionian Seas, as Spain lies between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. In the Greek states near the isthmus, the ruling class was Doric, but the population was mostly Ionic and Achæan. There are evidences of Phœnician influence at Corinth. In Spain the ruling class was Visigothic but the population mainly Latin, (in the popular sense of the word) and in the south, partly Saracenic and Moorish. The history of Corinth, Sicyon, Argos and Megara has some points of resemblance to that of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Portugal.

Attica lies between the isthmus and central Greece. France lies between Spain and central Europe. The population in Attica was mainly Ionic, in France mainly Latin. The arts and sciences flourished in both.

Thessaly and Central Greece appear to have played a part in Greek history like that of Scandinavia and Germany in European. Of course, no detailed correspondence could be expected. The population was Doric, Æolian and Achæan in Greece, and Scandinavian, Saxon, Frank, etc. in Europe.

The island of Eubœa is near Central Greece, as Italy is near Central Europe. The population of Eubœa was

Ionic, that of Italy, Latin. Chalcis and Eretria had a maritime history like that of Venice and Genoa. The Delphic oracle, however, was on the main land, whereas the Holy See was in the centre of Italy.

The northwest of Greece did not come into the pale of Greek civilization until the Macedonian period. The position of Macedonia corresponds to that of Russia, but it faced to the east, whereas Russia faced to the west.

In classifying nations according to maritime and commercial supremacy England might be compared with Athens rather than with Sparta. In their intellectual development, England and Germany would probably prefer to be compared with Athens; but in a classification according to political and territorial relations England corresponds to Sparta, France to Athens, and Germany to Central Greece.

The resemblance of the earliest history of Rome and America is not as obvious as that of Greece and Europe. The western side of Greece faces the southern ends of Italy. The eastern side of America faces the western ends of Europe.

The shores of Southern Italy (Plate IIa) were colonized by Greeks descended in part from the Aryan conquerors but in the main from the old Iberian inhabitants of Greece. They came in comparatively small numbers and mingled with the native Iberian population.

Northern and Central Italy, however, were occupied by the Italians who came in from the north without passing through the civilized part of Greece. They came in large numbers and crowded most of the old population down to the south.

Central and South America were colonized by the Spaniards and others from the Mediterranean, and from southwestern Europe.

Northern America, however, was colonized from Europe in small numbers by the French, whose ancestors had been under the influence of Roman civilization, and in large numbers by the English and others from Northern Europe, who were descended from those who had taken part in the migrations that had destroyed the Roman Empire. They drove back the old population. From the standpoint of

ethnology the present inhabitants of Northern America may be compared with those of Central and Northern Italy; and those of Central and South America with those of Southern Italy and Sicily and other parts of the Mediterranean.

The Greeks in Italy brought their civilization with them; whereas the Italians received it from the Greeks after they arrived in Italy. In America all the immigrants brought the European civilization with them. Accordingly we cannot expect to find in early Roman and American history as close a resemblance as we find in Greek and European. In comparing Greek with European history, the Greek colonies in Italy should be compared with all the European colonies in America; but it is not worth while to discuss these relations in this paper. In comparing American with Roman history the Greeks in Italy and Sicily are compared with the Spanish, and the Italians with the English in America. The broken and dotted lines on Plate IIa show the extreme limit of the Greek possessions.

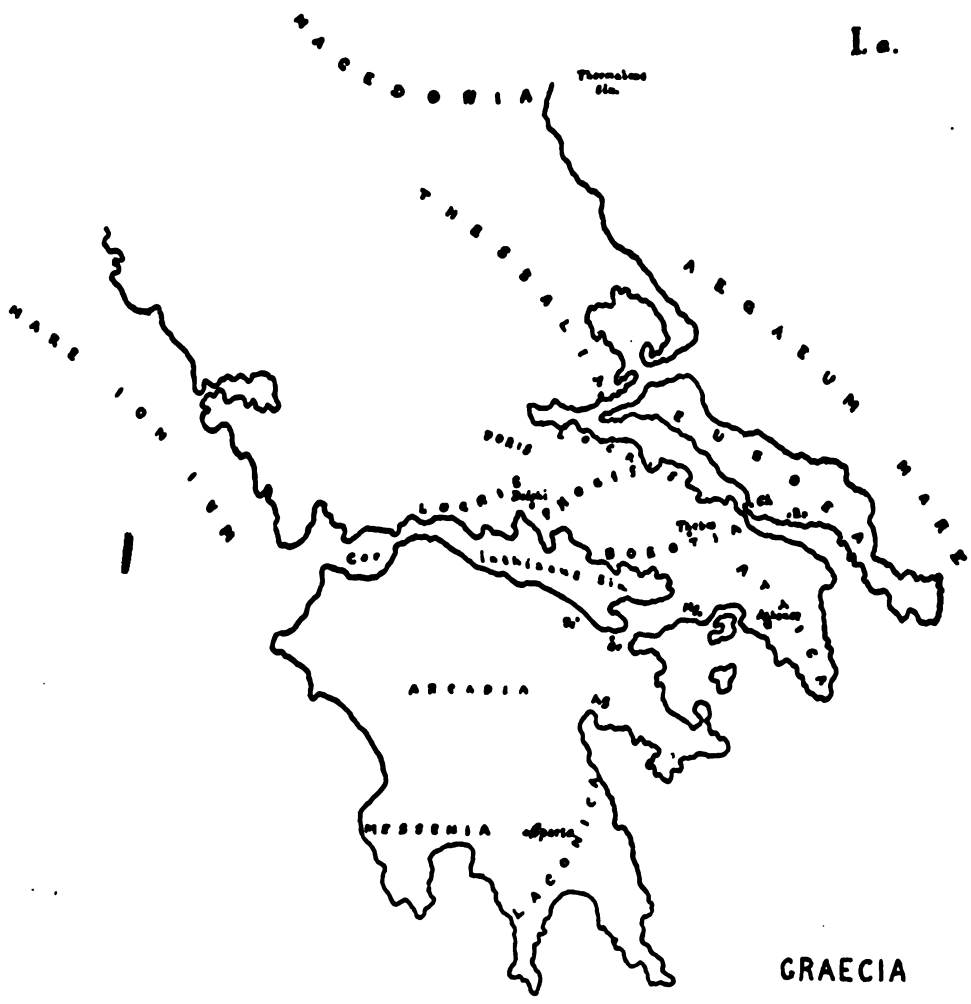
Civilization came to the western coast of central Italy and to the eastern coast of North America; and the Tyrrhenian Sea is compared with the Atlantic Ocean and the Adriatic Sea with the Pacific Ocean. The position of the thirteen original colonies is compared with that of Latium; the territory of Rome with that of the northern colonies and that of the other Latin towns with that of the southern.

The population in Etruria as elsewhere in northern Italy was partly Aryan and partly Iberian. Its position corresponds to that of Canada where the population was partly English and partly French. No special comparison is made excepting that the Etruscans were the northern neighbors of the Romans.

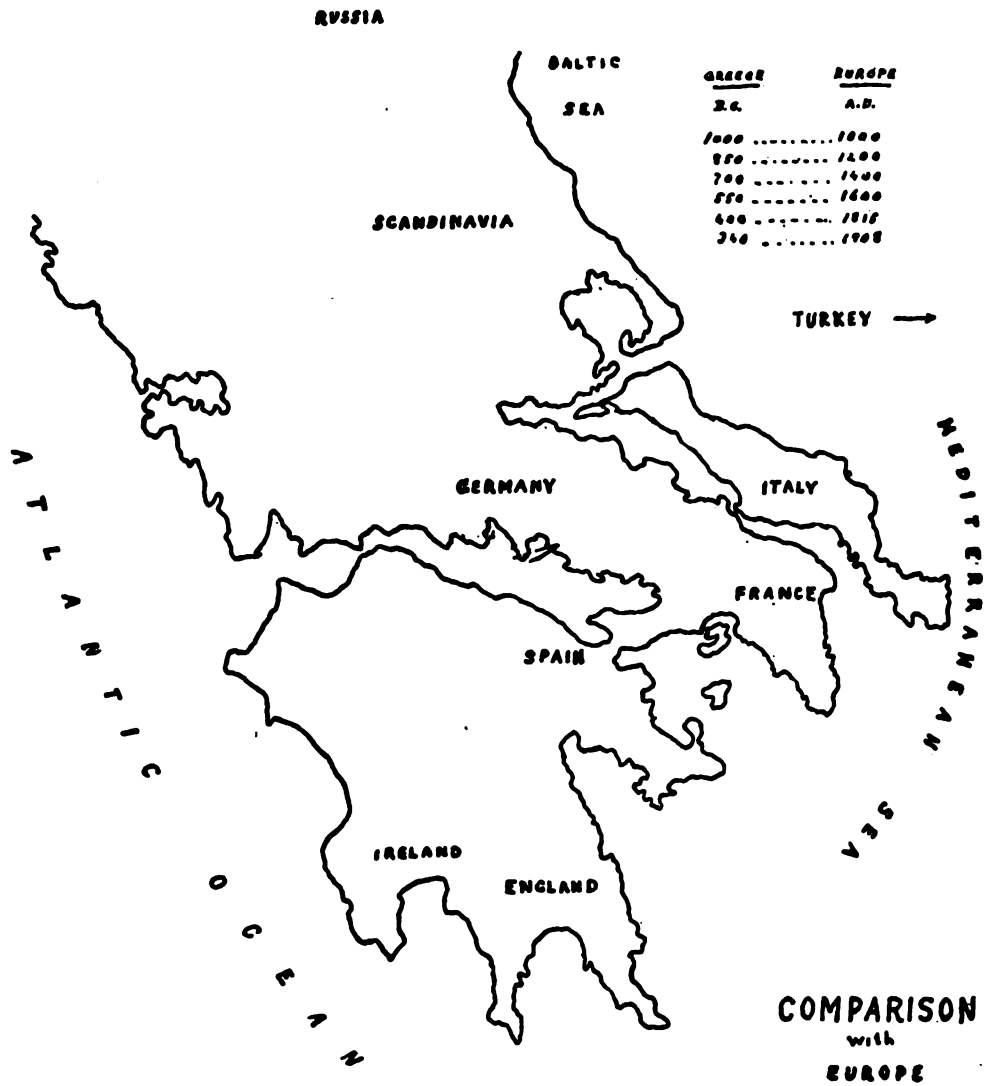
Apulia on the Adriatic corresponds with California on the Pacific. The Adriatic coast north of Apulia corresponds to the Pacific coast north of California.

For convenience of comparison, Greek and European history are divided into epochs of about 150 years each for Greece, and 200 years for Europe.

The sub-divisions are arbitrary and not intended for a final classification, but to show that a useful classification



I. b.



but the distribution of votes indicates that the centre of political power at this epoch was in Central Greece. All were pledged to support the Delphic Oracle.

Modern. The Holy Roman Empire was semi-religious and semi-political. Many of the states, dukedoms, cities, etc., of Europe, nominally formed parts of this Empire. The bond of union was loose but the centre of political power was in Central Europe. The emperor was elective and pledged to support the Holy See.

Ancient. The Phœnicians controlled the commerce of the Ægean and part of the population of Corinth was probably Phœnician.

Modern. The Saracens were powerful on the Mediterranean and half of Spain was in their power.

DURING THE SECOND EPOCH: FROM ABOUT 850 TO 700 B. C.

IN ANCIENT GREECE AND FROM 1200 TO 1400

A. D. IN MODERN EUROPE.

Ancient. Most of the states were no longer governed by kings but by the oligarchical nobility.

Modern. The Emperors and kings were generally retained, but in most of the states the political power was held by the feudal nobility.

Ancient. The kings of Sparta retained their power under certain limitations, and, while Sparta was the champion of oligarchic principles, her own government was more stable than that of her neighbors. She overran Messenia and at times held military control over many of the states in the Peloponnesus.

Modern. The kings of England retained their power under certain limitations, and while England was the champion of feudal principles, her government was more stable than that of her neighbors. She overran Ireland and at times held military control over many of the provinces of western France.

- Ancient.** The north-western shores of the Ægean Sea opposite Macedonia occupied by Thracian and Illyrian tribes were colonized from Euboea and the Isthmus.
- Modern.** The southeastern shores of the Baltic, opposite Russia were colonized (not, however, from Spain and Italy, but mostly from Germany.)
- Ancient.** The migrations of the Scythians in Asia stirred up the Cimmerians and Thracians in Europe. This retarded the progress of the Macedonians, but had little effect on the rest of Greece.
- Modern.** The migrations of the Mongols, however, drove the Tartars into Europe. The Russians were subjected to tribute. Their progress was retarded about 300 years.

DURING THE THIRD EPOCH: FROM 700 TO 550 B. C. IN GREECE AND FROM 1400 TO 1600 A. D. IN EUROPE.

- Ancient.** In several states oligarchies were overthrown by despots.
- Modern.** In several states the feudal power gave way to that of monarchs.
- Ancient.** Attica, Eleusis and Salamis were united under Athens. Messenia revolted and was subjected to slavery.
- Modern.** Most of France was restored to the royal domain.
The Irish were repeatedly abandoned, murdered and enslaved.
- Ancient.** Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, etc., were powerful at sea. Greek Colonies were established under sanction of the Delphic oracle on the Mediterranean and Black Seas.
- Modern.** Spain, Portugal, Venice, Genoa, etc., were powerful at sea. European colonies were established under sanction of the Pope on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

- Ancient. This age witnessed not only a social and political movement among the masses in various parts of Greece, but also an intellectual and spiritual stirring.
- Modern. This was the epoch of the Renaissance and of the Reformation.
- Ancient. A contest for control of the Sanctuary at Olympia, and the First Sacred War in defense of the oracle at Delphi, took place in this epoch in Greece.
- Modern. In Europe, the Wars of the Reformation.
- Ancient. The Greek colonies on the eastern coast of the *Ægean* were conquered by the Lydians.
- Modern. Constantinople was taken and the Balkan Peninsula conquered by the Turks.

FOURTH EPOCH: 550 TO 400 B. C. IN GREECE AND 1600
TO 1815 A. D. IN EUROPE

- Ancient. At about the beginning of this epoch Hippias, tyrant of Athens, was murdered and a democracy was established. Democracies were established in other Greek states, but Sparta, although she gave great power to the representatives of the people, still preserved both her hereditary kings and the Council of her nobles.
- Modern. The monarchs of France retained their thrones nearly to the end of this epoch when Louis XVI. was executed and a democracy established. Reforms were introduced in the governments of other European states. In England, Charles I. was executed, a Commonwealth and Protectorate were established and abolished, and the Monarchy restored, but eventually reforms were introduced in the government retaining, however, the hereditary king and the House of Lords.
- Ancient. At the beginning of this epoch the Persians, who had conquered the Lydians, crossed the

Hellespont and subjected Thrace and Macedonia. The battle of Plataea, B. C. 479, put an end to their power in Europe.

Modern. The Turks had crossed the Danube and subjected Hungary and Roumania before the beginning of this epoch. The battle at Vienna, A. D. 1683, drove them out of Hungary and put Europe out of danger.

Ancient. Macedonia expanded to four times her former size and reached the Thermaic Gulf. Alexander I. moved his capital from *Ægae* to *Pydna*.

Modern. Russia expanded to three times her former size and reached the Baltic. Peter I. moved his capital from Moscow to St. Petersburg.

Ancient. Sparta upheld the supremacy of Thebes in *Bœotia*.

Modern. England upheld the power of Prussia under Frederick in Germany.

Ancient. In the Peloponnesian War with which this epoch ends, the states in which liberal ideas of government prevailed were in general allied for a while with Athens, but as her power increased her imperial conduct became offensive. The states ruled by oligarchies and those in which conservative ideas prevailed were in general allied with Sparta. The result of the War was to make Sparta and the oligarchic party supreme in Greece.

Modern. In the Wars of the French revolution and empire with which this epoch ends, the liberal states were in general for a while allied with France, but as her power increased her imperial conduct became offensive. The imperial, oligarchical, and conservative states were allied with England. The result of the War was to make England and the aristocratic and imperial party supreme in Europe.

IN THE LAST EPOCH FROM 400 TO 340 B. C. AND 1815 TO
1908 A. D.

Ancient. Sparta placed thirty tyrants over Athens who were soon overthrown. The democratic government was restored.

Modern. The English and Russians placed a Bourbon on the throne of France. After several revolutions a republican government was established.

Ancient. The Spartans lost their supremacy and Athens again became powerful in Greece.

Modern. The English lost their supremacy and France again became powerful in Europe.

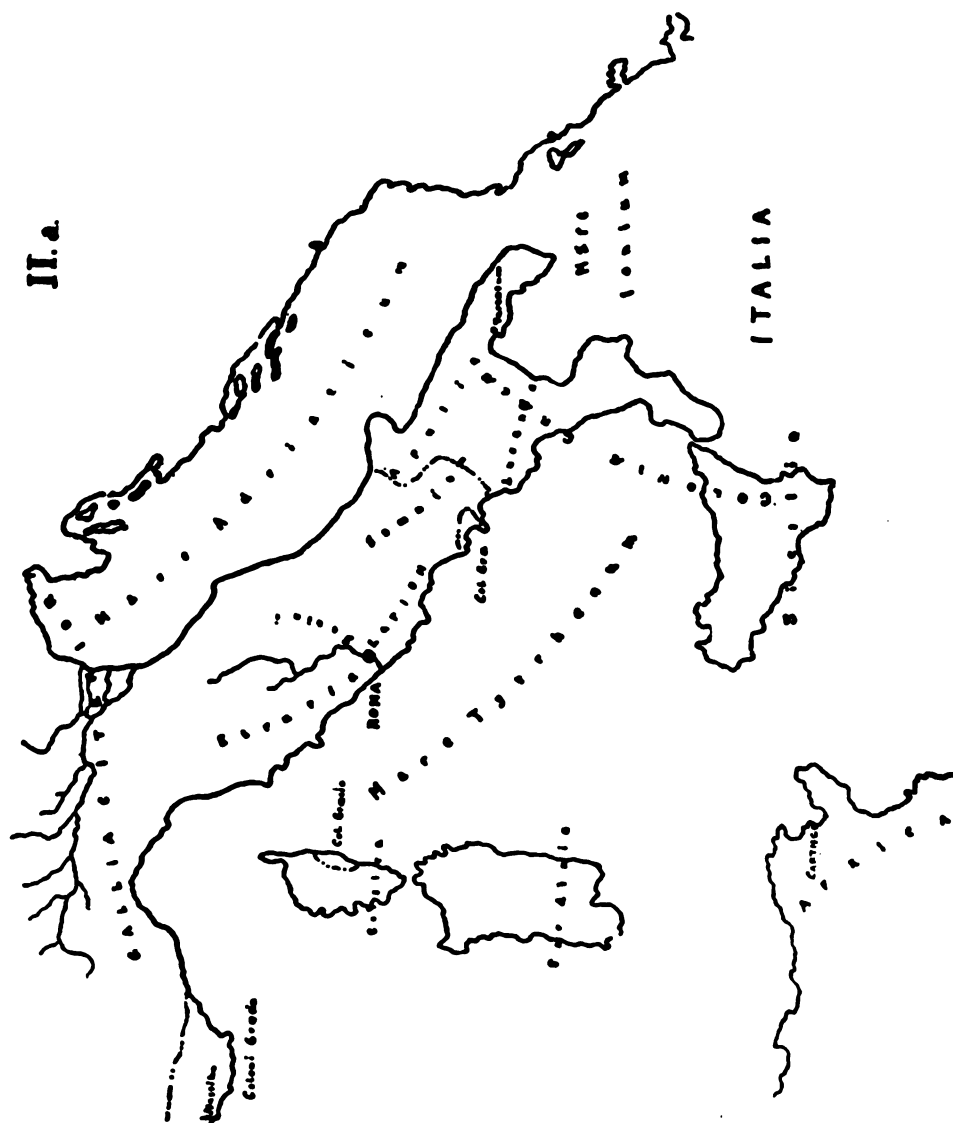
Ancient. The Thebans under Pelopidas and Epaminondas overthrew the power of Sparta and Athens, and had a short supremacy in Greece.

Modern. The Prussians under William I. and Bismarck overthrew the power of France, established the German Empire, and became the leading military state in Europe.

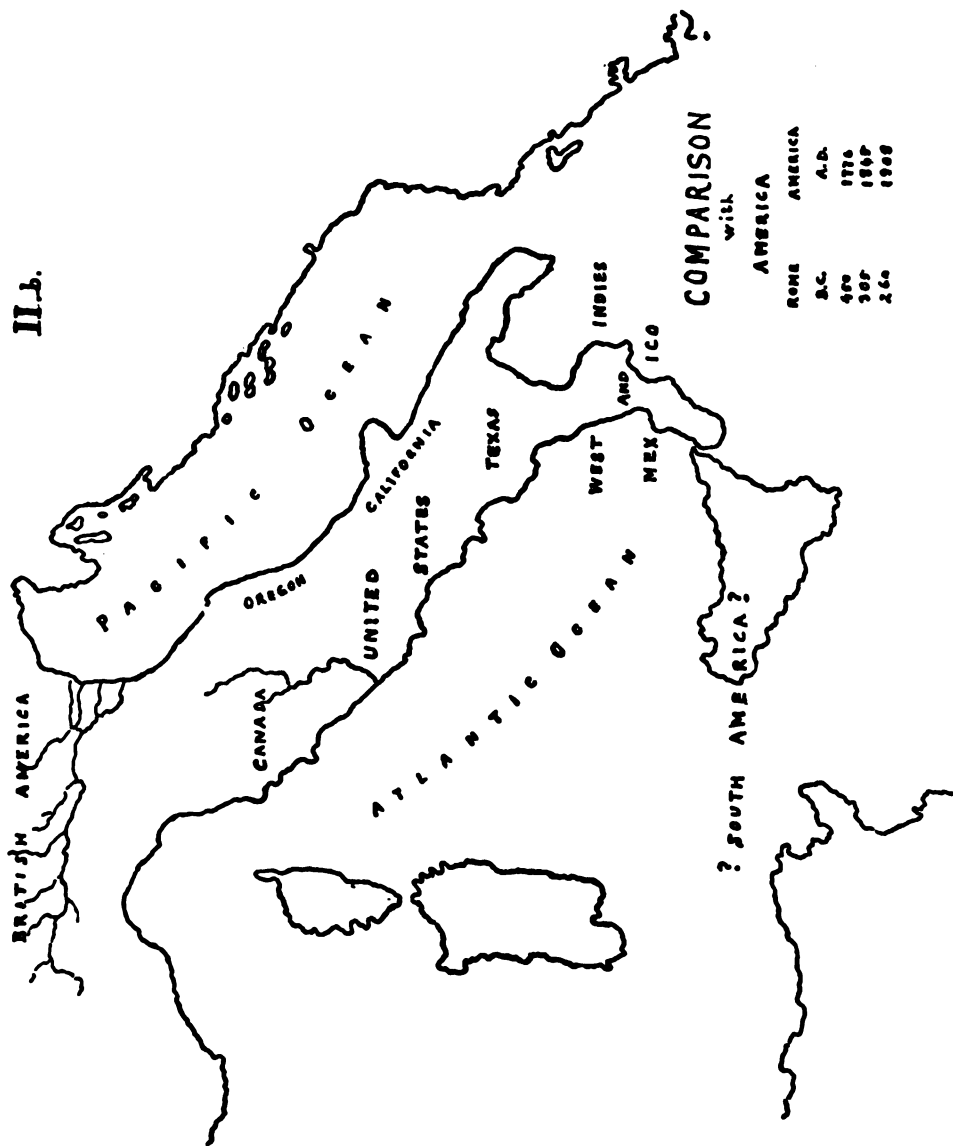
Ancient. After passing through some revolutions of which little is known, Macedonia became the most powerful state in Greece. The balance of power was overthrown. The Persian Empire was conquered and divided.

Modern. Before passing through constitutional reforms of which the necessity had been generally recognized, Russia became involved in a war with Japan, the result of which was to check for a while her advance in Asia.

Of the states that sprang from Alexander's conquest, the Greeks in Bactria pushed on into India and held control for many years. Powerful Greek states were founded in Egypt and Syria and small ones in Asia Minor. The Eastern half of the old Persian Empire was reconquered by the Asiatics, but all the rest of the old world was merged in the Roman Republic.



II.B.



COMPARISON

with

ROME	AMERICA
B.C.	A.D.
400	1776
500	1860
250	1900

COMPARISON OF ROMAN AND AMERICAN
HISTORY.

Ancient. The early history of the Romans, relates to fights for territory with their neighbors, the Etruscans and Sabines; to the formation of the league for common protection and religious worship with the other Latin towns; and to their subjection by the Etruscans and Sabines in succession.

Modern. The early history of the Americans relates to fights for territory with the French and Indians; to the formation of leagues for protection of their lives and religious worship; and to the oppressions of the British government.

Ancient. The next important events of Roman History were the wars of independence from the rule of the Etruscans and Sabines in succession and the abolition of royalty. The latter was possibly gradual in Rome and the latest authorities suggest the year 450 B. C. as the probable date.

Modern. The next important events in American history were the War of the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

The dates of the abolition of royalty, 450 B. C., and of the Declaration of Independence, 1876 A. D., may be taken as the first definite points of contact between Roman and American History separating the Mythical and Colonial history from the National; and the Regal from the Republican.

Ancient. The next events in Roman history are the conquest of Veii and the extension of Roman territory across the Tiber in Southern Etruria, from 396 to 383 B. C. and the invasion of Italy by the Gauls who took Rome in 390 B. C.

Modern. In American history the next events are the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 and the invasion of the United States by the British who took Washington in 1814.

Ancient. The distribution of the newly acquired land was a subject of constant contention between the Romans and the other members of the Latin league. The population of the Roman domain was commercial and urban as well as agricultural; that of the other Latin towns was almost entirely agricultural. The new territory was rapidly colonized both by the Romans and by the other Latins, but the power of the Romans made more rapid advances.

Modern. The distribution of the land acquired by the Louisiana purchase became a subject of contention between the urban commercial and agricultural North, and the agricultural South. The new territory was rapidly colonized, but in greater numbers from the northern states than from the southern.

The occupation of the centre of the American continent, however, took a different shape from that of the occupation of the centre of the Italian peninsula. The Americans acquired new land by migration, the Romans by conquest; but the Samnite Confederation which the Romans absorbed was similar in blood and in organization to the Federation that absorbed it. The population was agricultural and pastoral.

Ancient. The first Samnite war in 343 B. C. ended in the defeat of the Samnites, who then became allies of the Romans. In 340 B. C. the Latin towns seceded from the league with the Romans. They were conquered by the Romans and Samnites. In the Second Samnite War, 326 to 305, the Samnites were finally conquered. In the Third War they seceded and were subdued.

Modern. These wars between the Romans and the Latins and between the two Confederacies of Italian states may be compared with the Civil War in America, from 1861 to 1865 and the reconstruction which followed.

In this comparison, the year 270 B. C., 180 years after the birth of the Roman Republic, corresponds to the year 1899 A. D., 123 years after the birth of the American Republic. The time is too short to furnish an exact gauge for a detailed comparison.

CONCLUSION.

The comparison appears to show that America's place in Modern History is similar to that of Rome in Ancient History. European and American history have followed in the path of Greek and Roman, but on a much larger scale. Europe has moved a little slower than Greece, America a little faster than Rome.

To infer from this resemblance that the history of the future will follow precisely the same course as the history of the past, would defeat the purpose of the comparison. If the course were due to subjective causes alone this might be more or less true, but so far as it is due to environment, it is impossible; for all continents have not the same shape. Moreover, the world is round and the streams of empire moving to the East and to the West may perhaps come into bristling contact before we are able to predict future events in history with the same precision that we can calculate the motions of the planets.

The object in comparing the history of one nation with that of another is to ascertain the laws which control its development. When the laws are discovered they will throw some light on the future.

In comparing ancient with modern history more useful results can be expected from a comparison of the same phases of ancient and modern than from the comparison of the history of one nation in its infancy with that of another in its decline, or that of one member of a cluster of states like those of Ancient Greece with that of an independent nation like America. A certain resemblance can, of course, be detected by almost any comparison, but not one as far reaching in its deductions as one made between two nations in the same stage of development and holding the same relations to their neighbors.

A comparison of the Federation of the United States of America with that of the Achæan towns, while quite interesting from one standpoint, has little bearing on the future career of the American nation.

The fact that the British Empire to-day covers more ground than the Roman Empire of old, has comparatively little meaning. With railroads, steam-boats and telegraphs, states are in general much larger than before. Bearing this in mind, a comparison of the same phases of the history of Athens, Sparta and Central Greece with that of France, England and Germany, that of Macedonia with Russia, or that of ancient Rome with that of modern America, can hardly fail to be profitable and to throw some light on the question of how much of the development in each case is due to organic growth, and how much to environment.

After the Tarentine War the Romans were soon engaged in war with the Carthaginians. The shape of the continents is not such as to indicate precisely who will be our next antagonist. A war with Mexico now would not be as simple as it was in 1846. Some European power in league with the Argentine, or with all the Spanish Americans might perhaps give us as much trouble as Pyrrhus or Hannibal gave the Romans. Japan is a thoroughly Asiatic country and not Iberian like Carthage and Spanish America; but Japan holds a position in the Pacific like that of Pontus in the Black Sea and that of Carthage in the Mediterranean.

Although the shape of Sicily and North Africa does not resemble that of Central and South America, yet a glance at a chart of the world is sufficient to show that the American continent holds the same position with reference to the Atlantic and Pacific that Italy holds with reference to the Mediterranean, and has like advantages for becoming the political as well as the commercial centre of the World.

Although political and territorial history cannot move with the same regularity as the planets, we are safe in assuming that under like conditions modern history will follow a like course to that of ancient history but on a much larger scale.

How far its course will be changed in each instance is a problem for the historian and the economist to solve, and

the object of classification and comparison is to simplify this study by showing in what regions this study is required, and it is suggested here that Greek history in the Epoch between the Peloponnesian War and the Macedonian Supremacy in Greece may be compared with the contemporary history of Europe. If anything can be learned about the political condition of Macedonia before the accession of Philip, it may throw light upon the effect of the present reforms in the government of Russia. The disintegration of the Persian Empire in the time of Xenophon and Agesilaus and the sudden rise of the military and maritime power of Caria under Mausolus and afterward of Pontus under Mithridates I. may be compared with the present situation in the far East. The history of the Greek states in Egypt, Syria, Bactria, etc., on the one hand, and of Parthia and Pontus on the other, may indicate the possible condition of Asia in case of a partition of the Chinese Empire.

The history of Rome from the Pyrrhic to the Carthaginian Wars will throw some light on the contemporary history of America and be very useful in its bearing upon our colonial policy. We have progressed half as fast again as the Romans, but Europe has not progressed quite as fast as Greece and it may be a little longer before her states are ready to cast their lot with us. The conquest, if any, need not be bloody, but blood may be spilt in wars with conservative nations who try to check our progress.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S ORIGINAL LETTERS ABOUT BALLOONS.

BY ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH.

The publication of my paper, "Benjamin Franklin and the First Balloons," elicited the following letter to the Society from our English associate, Mr. A. H. Church:

"You may be interested to hear that the originals of two of the letters of Benjamin Franklin, F. R. S., are preserved in the archives of the Royal Society. They are in Guard-Book No. 73—a volume which contains letters and papers received by the Society between Nov. 6, 1783 and March 4, 1784.

The letter of Aug. 30, 1783, occupies 5 pages. It is a holograph textually reproduced on pp. 260—263 of Vol. XVIII. of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. But the original contains a foot-note or second postscript, also in Franklin's own handwriting, which has not been printed. It runs thus:—

'A Pamphlet is printing in which we are to have a full & perfect Acc^t. of the Experiments hitherto made, &c.

'I will send it to you.

'M. Montgolfier's Air to fill the Globe has hitherto been kept secret; some suppose it to be only common Air heated by passing thro' the Flame of burning Straw, and thereby extremely rarefied. If so, its Levity will soon be diminish'd, by Condensation, when it comes into the cooler Region above.'

The 6th and 7th pages of this manuscript are blank but between them has been inserted a small quarto leaf giving on the recto a description in French of the dimensions, weight, lifting-power, air-displacement, &c. of the balloon. This account is completed on the verso, on which also occurs this note, in autograph:

'Sept. 2. I add this paper just now given me. B. F.'

The other letter is that of Oct. 8, 1783, and occupies two pages. The name of the addressee and the subscription are in Franklin's autograph but the body of the letter is in a less flowing and more clerky hand."

In the Notes appended to the letters which I printed, it is stated that both Bigelow and Smyth, in their compilations of Franklin's writings, give the letter of August 30, 1783, with the second postscript and the calculations relating to the balloon. It now appears that these are contained in the original letter preserved by the Royal Society of London. It seems likely that Mr. Bigelow had access to this letter but Professor Smyth states that he used the draft in the library of the University of Pennsylvania for the body of the letter and the first postscript, completing the document from a press-copy in the possession of Dodd, Mead & Co. of New York. This copy was since purchased by me, and, as I have already pointed out, does not include these additional data which are now cited by Mr. Church from the letter in London. Nevertheless, it is probable that my press-copy is from this letter and that either the latter portion was not copied, or if copied, that the thin sheet has been lost.

In order to verify Professor Smyth's reproductions of three of Franklin's letters concerning balloons, which differed in certain details from my copies, Professor Morris Jastrow, librarian of the University of Pennsylvania, kindly allowed me to inspect the Franklin documents which were purchased for his library in 1903. Here are rough drafts of three letters that subsequently were written out fairly and copied in a press. Two of these letters, namely, those of August 30 and October 8, 1783, we now know to be in the archives of the Royal Society, and the third, dated November 21, 1783, the late Gaston Tissandier, of Paris, claimed to have had in 1887. Thus of the five original letters of which I possess copies, the existence of only those of November 30 and December 1, 1783, still remains unknown.

Mr. Church states that the letter of October 8, 1783, is not a holograph, and the similar handwriting in my copy

indicates that it is a facsimile. In fact it may be assumed that the five press-copies which I reproduced in the last volume of our *Proceedings* were made from the letters as sent, the discrepancies noted between three of them and the letters printed by Professor Smyth being due to his adoption of the drafts with numerous erasures and interlineations, besides occasional differences of expression. The collection at the University of Pennsylvania contains but one autograph letter about ballooning, written to Sir Joseph Banks on December 15, 1783, and textually reproduced by Professor Smyth.

Through the courtesy of Dr. I. Minis Hays, secretary of the American Philosophical Society, I consulted the proof-sheets of his catalogue of the Franklin papers owned by that Society. The collection of letters is voluminous but the catalogue, which specifies every subject mentioned by Franklin in his correspondence, revealed nothing worthy of mention concerning balloons.

**A CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF COL. JOHN BRADSTREET**

**IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY**

**PREPARED FROM THE ORIGINALS
UNDER DIRECTION OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE
BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN**

PREFATORY NOTE.

The publication of this calendar of the manuscripts of Col. John Bradstreet in the Library of this Society follows the precedent set by the issuance of a similar list in 1907 for the manuscripts of Sir William Johnson. It is a further step in the policy of describing some of the original autograph material for the study of American history which is here available.

Born in England in 1711, John Bradstreet spent the greater portion of his life in America. From 1745 when he participated in the Louisburg campaign he was active in maintaining British control in the colonies. His death in 1774 prevented the necessity of his taking sides in the struggle for American independence and left him to share with Sir William Johnson who died in the same year, the credit of a vigorous opposition to the interests of the French in America. If his judgment was not equal to his activity, his work well illustrated British policy in America during the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution.

The collection here calendared comprises six volumes of Diaries, Orderly Books etc., and one volume of over 300 letters and other detached manuscripts. Each of the former volumes may be considered a collection in itself but their character is such as to preclude their division for listing purposes and each has been given but a single entry. In the exercise of a similar discretion the less important of the detached manuscripts have been combined when practicable and in other cases omitted, making a resultant calendar of but 206 entries. Although this method of treatment has necessitated the loss of many details the calendar remains a representative one in that it presents the essential features of the entire collection.

The manuscripts consist primarily of the accounts and military papers of Colonel Bradstreet when Quarter-Master

General at Albany, or when in command of the expeditions against Frontenac in 1758 and Detroit in 1764. They illustrate the difficulties attendant upon the gathering, sustaining and commanding Provincial troops at that time. Colonial jealousies are shown and many letters throw light upon the character of Bradstreet the man as well as the officer. As an appendix to the calendar there has been printed the argument, presented to the Lords of Trade and Plantation in 1771, upholding Bradstreet's claims to lands purchased from the Indians in 1769. This argument presented in substantially the same form to the Governor and Council of New York in 1770, and used again in England in 1773, states the ground upon which the Bradstreet grants of land in this State were, after a long contest, finally sustained. Occasional reference has been made to helpful manuscripts in the Sir William Johnson collection and this calendar may be profitably used in conjunction with the earlier issue.

NATHANIEL PAINE,

WALDO LINCOLN,

FRANKLIN P. RICE,

Library Committee.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

- A. D.—Autograph Document.
- A. D. S.—Autograph Document Signed.
- D. S.—Document Signed.
- A. L.—Autograph Letter.
- A. L. S.—Autograph Letter Signed.
- L. S.—Letter Signed.
- []—Information supplied.
- [?]—Doubtful reading or information.
- ***—Omissions.

THE COL. JOHN BRADSTREET MANUSCRIPTS.

[1755.] [Bradstreet, John.] Oswego. Letter to [William]
June. Shirley. Acknowledges two letters brought by
carpenters and received Jun. 8; progress in boat
building; rough character of the waters of the
lake [Ontario]; need of more carpenters; French
have passed on way to the Ohio country. Auto
Draft. 2pp.

[1755.] [Bradstreet, John. Oswego.] Letter to [William]
[June.] Shirley]. Acknowledges letter of June 15; is
building boats as directed "with such alterations"
as improve them; news of Shirley's coming
given out by new arrivals; conditions at Niagara;
reenforcements expected; considers himself equal
to any exigency as he understands conditions
thoroughly. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1755. [Bradstreet, John.] Oswego. Letter to William
Jul. 20. Shirley. Acknowledges letter of Jul. 12; arrival
of three companies from New Jersey; prevalence
of the flux in camp; flight of the French to Niag-
ara. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1755. [Bradstreet, John.] Oswego. Letter to [William]
[Jul.] 24. Shirley]. Arrival of Capt. [William] Douglass
and party on 21st; no Indians come to camp;
will strengthen fortifications until Shirley's
arrival or until orders to contrary are received.
Auto. Draft. 1p.

On verso of same to same Jul. 20, 1755.

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Majesty's Royal American Regiment." Counter-signed J[ohn] Appy, and seal attached. D. S. 1p.

1757. **Kirkwood, James.** Boston. To [John Bradstreet.]
Apr. 4. Account of sundries received on board snow *Diamond* by order of "Col" Bradstreet. A. D. S. 1p.

1757. **Kirkwood, James.** Boston. To John Bradstreet.
Apr. 5. Receipt for stores and provisions delivered on board snow *Diamond*. D. S. 1p.

1757. **Lothrop, Benjamin, jr.** Boston. To John Bradstreet.
Apr. 5. Receipt for stores and provisions delivered on board ship *Lyon*. D. S. 1p.

1757. **Cartwright, Thomas.** Boston. To John Bradstreet.
Apr. 6. Receipt for stores and provisions delivered on board ship *Boston*. D. S. 1p.

Under this date are two receipts similar to the above signed by Bartholomew Killoran and Andrew Newell, each for his own vessel.

1757. **Kirkwood, James.** New York. To [Commanding
Apr. 22. Officer at New York]. A Return of his Majesty's stores on board the snow *Diamond*. A. D. S. 1p.
See: Kirkwood to John Bradstreet; Apr. 4 and 5, 1757.

1757. **Cartwright, Thomas.** New York. To [John Bradstreet].
Apr. 23. A manifest of the cargo received on board transport *Boston* with an account of provisions for the ship's use. A. D. S. 1p.

1757. **Hallowell, Benjamin, jr. and five others.** Boston.
Apr. 23. To [John Bradstreet]. Mensuration at Boston of following three transports with statement of their time of entrance into his Majesty's service: ship *Two Brothers*, William Wingfield, Master; ship *Sheffield*, J[ohn] Reed, Master; snow *St. Peter*, [Robert] Kennedy, Master. D. S. Ben-

1758. [Bradstreet, John.] Letter to James Abercrombie.
 Mar. 24. Acknowledges letter of Mar. 18; 250 batteaux prepared to go with army to Crown Point; has raised 800 rangers for attack on Cadaraque but doubts if all will serve in another quarter; difficult to procure men for general service because of large bounty offered by colonies for provincial enlistments; bounty offered by [William] Shirley; asks Abercrombie's plans and states need for provisions at Albany. Auto. Draft. 3pp.

1758. Mortier, A[braham.] New York. Letter to John
 Mar. 26. Bradstreet. Has received from [Charles Ward] Apthorp an account of money advanced by order of [Maj. Genl. John Campbell, Earl] Loudoun or of Bradstreet, and from [Maj.] Genl. [James Abercrombie] a warrant for £3000 in payment of account; warrant will serve to repay amounts advanced Col. [Nathaniel] Meserve for carpenters and batteau service; directions as to future accounting of Bradstreet and others; congratulates him on recent advancement. A. L. S. 2pp.

1758. De Normandie, Daniel. [Albany.] To John
 May 4- Bradstreet. Account of all monies received
 Nov. 30. and paid for the batteau service by Daniel De Normandie under the direction of [Lt.] Col. John Bradstreet, Commander-in-Chief of all the batteau men. 1 vol.

The volume is in 127 pages and contains in addition to De Normandie's accounts, over 125 signed receipts for batteau service and monies received therefor.

1758. Comyn, Pieter. Fort Stanwix. Letter to [John
 Sept. 25. Bradstreet]. Expense incurred for wages and allowances to three officers and company of 71 men enlisted by order of Brig. Genl. [John] Stanwix. D. S. 1p.

1758. **Bradstreet, John.** Albany. Account for Pilots
Nov. 15. and Interpreters. Account of monies paid for
pilots and Indian interpreters upon the expedition
to Cardaraque, with receipts for same. In ms.
of clerk except signatures. 1p. and duplicate.
1758. **Apthrop, Charles Ward.** Boston. Letter to John
Nov. 25. Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Nov. 12,
enclosing [Abraham] Mortier's draft for 10,000
dollars; has credited Bradstreet's account with
draft and paid Capt. [Joshua] Loring £200 New
York currency as directed; will look into matter
of payment of James Otis. L. S. 1p.
1758. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey]
Dec. 31. Amherst. As desired sends state of batteaux;
reasons for widely scattered location of boats.
On verso is the statement showing number and
location of available boats. Auto. Draft. 2pp.
1759. **Amherst, Jeffrey.** New York. Letter to [John]
Feb. 4. Bradstreet. In reply to letter of Feb. 3 sends
warrant for £3000; methods of recourse for the
payment of this amount and low state of mil-
itary chest at New York; Bradstreet to explain
situation to [Thomas] Gage at once. L. S. 2pp.
1759. **Gage, Thomas.** Albany. Letter to [John] Brad-
Apr. 19. street. Directs Bradstreet to pay certain speci-
fied accounts amounting to £100, 16s. being the
expenses for entertainment etc. for Indian
scouting party sent out at Fort Edward. On
verso are four receipts to Lt. George Coventry
for various items of above accounts of date
Apr. 21, May 28 and Jun. 24 (?) respectively.
D. S. 2pp.
1759. [Bradstreet, John. Albany.] Account of men at
Apr. 24. Hospital in Albany. Account with His Majesty's

hospital at Albany for 14 batteau men who were in the hospital at various times between Feb. 25 and Apr. 24, 1759; total is £2.10d. In ms. of clerk. 1p.

1759. **Glen, John.** Schenectady. To Commissary Officers [and whom it may concern.] Orders that bearers of letter be not "stopt nor hindered on any acct. whatever" as they have provisions on batteaux; commissaries receiving or giving provisions to note same on letter. A. D. S. 1p.

1759. [Bradstreet, John.] Schenectady. Letter to Sept. 2. [Thomas Gage]. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 26; provisions accumulated; would have given Major [Gabriel] Christie charge of transportation had his orders from Maj. Genl. [Jeffrey] Amherst allowed him to do so; will report to latter and do as directed by him in the matter. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1759. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey Sept. 21. Amherst]. Regrets that letter of Sept. 15, just received, shows fear of lack of provisions; has no fear himself; sends [Lt. George] Coventry's return of provisions gathered, and states that more can be raised. Auto. Draft. 3pp.

1759. **Mortier, Abraham.** New York. Letter to [John] Sept. 21. Bradstreet. Has sent money to Albany to pay his note for £2500 to Bradstreet, so that he may have cash if he prefers. A. L. S. 1p.

1759. **Appy, J[ohn].** Crown Point. Letter to [John] Oct. 16. Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Oct. 11 to [Maj.] Genl. [Jeffrey Amherst] and refers him to latter's letter of Oct. 10 for instructions as to the sick in the New York regiment; other questions left to Bradstreet's discretion until return of

Amherst; some information from letters of Brig. Genl. [Thomas] Gage. L. S. 1p.

1759. **Glen, John.** Schenectady. To Commissary Officers [and whom it may concern.] Orders to pass provision batteaux; on delivery of goods acknowledgment to be made and deficiency to be noted on orders; names of men engaged in carrying provisions from Little Falls [Whitehall, N. Y.] to Fort Herkimer. A. D. S. 1p.

1760. **Stout, Jonathan and 102 others.** Elizabeth Town, Jan 1. [N. J.] To Capt. John Riky. Power of attorney to receive and receipt for wages due in the batteau service. D. S. 3pp.

1760. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey Amherst]. Sends two sworn waggon accounts to "show what little faith, truth or honor there are in complaints so frequently made"; disputes regarding demands of previous year; urges that preparations be begun at once for any campaign intended in 1760. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1760. **Mortier, A[braham.]** New York. Letter to [John] Feb. 18. Bradstreet. Regrets his inability to pay balance of Bradstreet's warrant for £12,631.19s. 6d. in favor of [Capt. Daniel] De Normandie but military chest is not able to advance that sum. A. L. S. 1p.

1760. **Appy, J[ohn.]** New York. Letter to Thomas Feb. 21. Hancock. Notifies Hancock of arrival of dispatches for [Maj.] Genl. [Jeffrey Amherst] and circular letters for the several governors calling for new levies for approaching campaign; specifies various letters sent Hancock to be forwarded; acknowledges letter of Jan. 16 and thanks him for articles sent. L. S. 1p.

1760. **Mortier**, Abraham, New York. Letter to [John]
 Mar. 9. Bradstreet. In response to orders from [Maj.]
 Genl. [Jeffrey Amherst] has endeavored to
 obtain for Bradstreet a credit of £8000 in New
 England; [Charles Ward] Apthorp informs him
 that he has no money at Boston and there is none
 available at New York; small amounts elsewhere.
 A. L. S. 2pp.

1760. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Joshua]
 Mar. 18. Loring. In reply to letter of Mar. 13, states
 that "the King's service requires 50 good ship
 carpenters over and above the 50 mentioned"
 to build batteaux at Albany; has acquainted
 the General [Amherst] with his demand "where-
 fore for the Publick and your own sake don't
 fail." Auto. Draft. 1p.

1760. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey]
 Mar. 30. Amherst]. Provisions received from contractors
 and application made to Brig. Genl. [Thomas]
 Gage for troops to move them; no cedar boards
 arrived but 29 of [Joshua] Loring's carpenters
 are at work [on boats]. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1760. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey]
 Sept. 14. Amherst, Montreal.] Congratulates him on the
 capture of Montreal and the reduction of Canada;
 outlines work of forwarding provisions; amount
 at Oswego and amount reported by [James]
 DeLancey as being at or near Albany; requests
 a warrant for £10,000 by bearer Capt. [Philip]
 Schuyler. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1760. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Philip]
 Oct. 23. Schulyer]. Thanks him for proffered services
 in settling his [Bradstreet's] accounts; hopes
 that [William] Pitt will remember his [Brad-
 street's] service in the subjugation of Canada;

Butler, John. [Canawago.] Letter to Jellis Fonda. Certificate of amounts of money given Fonda for payment of various persons and accounts. A. D. S. 1p.

Mortier, Abraham. New York. Letter to John Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Oct. 31; had packed the money to be sent him in box and put it on board a sloop about to sail; various charges and accounts paid; amount sent. A. L. S. 1p.

Mortier, Abraham. New York. Letter to [John] Bradstreet. Encloses warrant of [Lt.] Genl. Sir Jeffrey Amherst for £8000 in his favor; requests that warrant be endorsed and returned with customary receipts. A. L. S. 1p.

Amherst, Sir Jeffrey. New York. Letter to [John] Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Nov. 9 and is much surprised at the movements of various provincial regiments; reports necessary from officers at Oswego and Fort Stanwix; has heard from Capt. [Joshua] Loring of loss of the *Anson* on Lake Ontario; encloses warrant for £6000; has promoted Lt. [Samuel] Bradstreet to a company in 40th regiment. L. S. 2pp.

Coventry, George. [Albany.] To [John Bradstreet]. Account of monies paid to 45 men [names given] of 55th regiment employed in transportation service at Lake George from Jul. 30 to Aug. 12, 1761, with receipt for same. D. S. 1p.

Mortier, Abraham. New York. Letter to [John] Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Dec. 11, enclosing order of [Lt. Genl.] Sir Jeffrey Amherst in Bradstreet's favor for £6000; various bills paid and the balance turned over to [John] Glen. A. L. S. 1p.

1762. **Amherst**, Sir Jeffrey. New York. Letter to [John] Feb. 10. Bradstreet. Arrival of the *General Wall* with letters for the army in New York and Canada; forwards letters with packets of his own for commanding officers at Fort George and the Governors in Canada. A. L. S. 1p.

1762. **Bergstrom**, J [] G. Little Niagara. To "Feb. 29." [John] Bradstreet. Certificate of impressment into the service of horses and cattle belonging to Stedman & Allen, with receipt of latter for wages paid. A. D. S. 2pp.

1762. **Mortier**, Abraham. New York. Letter to [John] May 17. Bradstreet. Encloses Capt. William Ogilvie's bill on John Stevenson in writer's favor for £1565; asks if bill is accepted. A. L. S. 1p.

1762. **Mortier**, Abraham. New York. Letter to [John] Nov. 8. Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Nov. 3 by [John] Carns, enclosing warrant of [Lt.] Genl. [Sir Jeffrey Amherst] in Bradstreet's favor for £5000; returns warrant for Bradstreet's endorsement. A. L. S. 1p.

[1763.] **Mortier**, Abraham. [New York.] Letter to [John] [Jan. 9.] Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Bradstreet enclosing paper of Maj. [Robert] Rogers; financial dealings with Rogers and Bradstreet. A. L. S. 1p. mutilated.

1763. **Mortier**, Abraham. New York. Letter to [John] Mar. 21. Bradstreet]. Acknowledges letter of Mar. 14, enclosing warrant of [Lt.] Genl. [Sir Jeffrey Amherst]; warrant not so large as order given earlier; expects Bradstreet to make up the difference either in cash from next warrant received or by payment to Capt. [William] Winepress. A. L. S. 1p. and Auto. duplicate enclosed in Mortier to Bradstreet, Apr. 9, 1764.

1763. Cuyler, Abraham. Niagara River, Lake Erie.
May 9. To [John] Bradstreet. Certificate that he has taken into the service a boat belonging to John Stedman. A. D. S. 1p.

1763. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey
May. 23. Amherst.] Calls attention to encroachments made by the city of Albany upon lands which the Crown has used since 1758 for military purposes; claims of others rest on charter from the Governor; considers it a good time to enforce the claim of the Crown; privileges granted the city by new charter; submits a copy of charter for consideration. Auto. Draft. 3pp.

See: Bradstreet to Thomas Gage. Oct. 14, 1765.

1763. Amherst, Sir Jeffrey. New York. Letter to [John]
Jul. 28. Bradstreet. Awaits news from Detroit and the South; last reports from Maj. [Henry] Gladwin were favorable and Maj. [John] Wilkins will forward more as received; Havana returned to Spain; most of the English troops in West Indies will return to Europe but some may go to Canada; advises Bradstreet to keep up connections with North and West if those sections are not restored to peace. L. S. 2pp.

1763. Wilson, John. Fort Ontario. To John Glen.
Aug. 9. Certificate that John Bone brought load of artillery from Fort Stanwix to Fort Ontario. A. D. S. 1p.

1763. Amherst, Sir Jeffrey. New York. Letter to [John]
Aug. 20. Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of 15th; satisfied with work accomplished; under new arrangement small posts are to be abandoned, so requests names of persons to whom they may be given and who can be relied upon to deliver them to the Crown in case of need. L. S. 1p.

1763. **Maxwell, William.** Schenectady. To Commissary
Aug. 20. [Officers. Orders to pass provision batteaux
for various posts. A. D. S. 2pp.

1763. **Amherst, Sir Jeffrey.** New York. Letter to [John]
Aug. 28. Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 21
with enclosures regarding the Dutch church at
Albany; reports victory of Col. [Henry] Bouquet
at Bushy Run [near Fort Pitt] over a large body
of Indians; summary of losses on both sides;
has ordered officers communicating with Fort
Pitt to furnish no supplies to Indians and to
allow no trader to go among them; has written
[Maj.] Genl. [Thomas] Gage to prevent traders
going up the St. Lawrence and Bradstreet is to
allow none to go out from Albany until further
orders. L. S. 2pp.

See: Bradstreet to Thomas Gage. Oct. 14, 1765.

1763. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir Jeffrey
Aug. 28. Amherst.] In obedience to letter of Aug. 20,
will look out for proper persons to take charge
of small posts; movements of Lts. [James] Gamble
and [Arthur] St. Clair; demand of Maj. [John]
Wilkins for bedding at Niagara; needs at Detroit.
Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1763. **Mortier, Abraham.** New York. Letter to [John] Brad-
Sept. 19. street. Has paid and charged to his account a bill
for £200 drawn on him by Mrs. Bradstreet and pre-
sented by [William] Bayard; latter received it from
[Nathaniel] Wheelwright of Boston. A. L. S. 1p.

1763. **Detroit, Inhabitants of.** [Detroit.]
[Sept.?] Abstract of the losses of the inhabitants of
Detroit by fire etc. during the summer of 1763;
names of 20 persons given including one English-
man and one interpreter, with amount of loss
of each. Cont. Ms. 1p.

1764. Roberts, B[enjamin.] Niagara. To [John Bradstreet]. Certificate of services performed by John Stedman with his horses, with receipt of Stedman dated Mar. 20, 1766. D. S. 2pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Letter to [Thomas Gage]. Apr. 30. Movements in préparation for the campaign against Detroit. Auto. Draft. 2pp.
In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Sir William Johnson]. May 5. Garrisons to be left in various New York posts; request Johnson to await him at Oswego. Auto. Draft. 2pp.
In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

[1764.] Bradstreet, John. Albany. Letter to [Thomas May 7. Gage. Provincial troops for the expedition against Detroit; understands that Sir William Johnson will bring Indian recruits. A. L. S. 1p.
In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1764. Glen, John. Schenectady. To Commissary May 7. Officers. Bearers of letter not to be stopped or hindered as they have provisions in their boats for [Lt.] Col. [John] Campbell and 17th regt; boats in charge of John Miller. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Fort Ontario. Deserters from May troops commanded by. Descriptive list of men who deserted from the New York provincial troops after leaving Schenectady; six men are named from the company of Capt. [Richard] Rea, five from that of Capt. [John] Degarius, four from that of Capt. [John] Grant, two from that of Capt. [Henry] Dawson, two from that of Capt. [Alexander] Whyte. In ms. of a clerk. 2pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas May 23. Gage]. Troops at Detroit lodged in houses of

people; suggests that carpenters be sent from Albany to erect barracks; encloses return of 80th regiment and of the garrison at Niagara; many companies are short of their complements. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1764. Duncan, Alexander. Albany. To [John Bradstreet]. Certificate of names and companies of 15 men employed as axe men, preparing timber for the Niagara carrying place, Mar. 26-Apr. 10, 1764, with wages due each. D. S. 1p.

1764. Bradstreet, John. Orderly Book.
 Jun. 27- Orderly Book of regiment commanded by Col.
 Nov. 29. Bradstreet at Forts Ontario, Niagara and Erie, as also at Detroit and Albany. 1 vol. 128pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Niagara. Letter to [Thomas] Jul. 12. Gage. Delay in campaign due to distrust of Indian troops; Sir William Johnson considers it unsafe to proceed at once; hopes to make a better report soon. Auto. Draft. 3pp.
 In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1764. Bradstreet, John. Niagara. To Indian Traders Jul. 19. at Niagara. Proclamation granting liberty to trade with distant Indian Nations at Niagara and prescribing regulations under which such trade should be conducted. D. S. 1p.
 This proclamation is reproduced in facsimile facing p. 105.

[1764.] Luke, John. [Niagara.]
 [July] Plan of Fort Niagara. Auto. Ms. 1p.

1764. McDougall, George. Detroit. To [John Bradstreet]. Aug. 31. Return of the detachment of 118 men from 60th regiment under his command. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. Abbott, Edward. Detroit. To [John Bradstreet]. Sept. 6. Receipt for stores with detailed list of same. A. D. S. 3pp.

1764. **Abbott, Edward.** Detroit. To [John Bradstreet].
Sept. 10. Return of ordnance, ammunition and stores
left for a supply to the garrison of Detroit.
A. D. S. 5pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Detroit. Letter to [John
Sept. [10?] Campbell]. Places town and colony of Detroit
in his hands; directions for protections of Indians
in their rights but for careful watch over them
as well; method of government to be modelled
after that of Montreal; instructions for Capt.
[William] Howard and Lt. [John] Sinclair left
with him; any instructions from [Maj.] Genl.
[Thomas] Gage to be followed at once. Auto.
Draft. 4pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Detroit. Letter to [Thomas]
Sept. 12. Gage. Gives an account of his negotiations at
Detroit with various papers showing same in
detail. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

See: Proclamation of Bradstreet, Jul. 19, 1764.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Detroit. Letter to [Thomas]
Sept. 12. Gage. Outlines plans for maintenance of position
at Detroit and the control of the surrounding
Indians. Auto. Draft. 1p.

In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

[1764.] [Bradstreet, John.] Notes for expedition against
[Sept.] Detroit. This volume contains many notes and
records of use to an army moving against Detroit
and the West. Among them are manuscript
maps of the great lakes, the names and locations
of various Indian tribes, notes as to camping
places, etc. Some notes appear to have been
made before the setting out of the expedition
and others to have been added during its
course. 1 vol. 27pp.

1764. **Martin**, S[amue]l. Detroit. To [John Bradstreet].
Oct. 3. Receipt for £400 New York currency in pay-
 ment for books and merchandise for the Indians.
 A. D. S. In French. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Sandusky. Letter to [Thomas
Oct. 5. Gage]. Is aroused over breaking of peace by
 Indians; Oneidas and Senecas the leaders; other
 details. Auto. Draft. 2pp.
 In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1764. **Jones**, John. [Fort Edward.] To [John Brad-
Oct. 8. street]. Return of stores delivered at Fort
 George and Fort Edward. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. **Glen**, John. Schenectady. To Commissary Offi-
Oct. 12. cers. Pass for bearers with bill of lading of
 supplies for Fort Ontario. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. **LeHunte**, George, [Sandusky.] To [John Brad-
Oct. 14. street]. Weekly return of light infantry com-
 manded by Maj. Le Hunte. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. **McDonald**, William. [Sandusky.] To [John Brad-
Oct. 14. street]. Weekly return of the New Jersey
 battalion. D. S. 1p.

1764. **Walton**, Joseph. [Sandusky.] To [John Bradstreet].
Oct. 14. Weekly return of detachment of royal artillery
 under his command. A. D. S. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Niagara. Letter to [Thomas
Nov. 4. Gage]. Encloses copies of nine letters giving
 summary of each in an attempt to justify his
 conduct during the Detroit expedition and
 return to Niagara. Auto. Draft. 4pp.

1764. **Walton**, Joseph. [Albany] To [Francis Colly-
Nov. 19. son]. Certificate of use of three horses for
 fourteen miles, with receipt by Collyson to

Bradstreet dated Jan. 9, 1767 for payment in full of above account. D. S. 2pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 20. Gage]. Acknowledges letter of Oct. 26; attempts to explain parts played by various Indian tribes during and after the peace of Detroit. Auto. Draft. 3pp.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 21. Gage]. Transmits record of Court of Inquiry on claims of men drafted from the 80th to the 46th regiment; other matters. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 25. Gage]. Acknowledges dispatches received on the 24th; Maj. [Richard?] Daly takes down men of 65th regiment and will deliver this letter; proposed distribution of forces; Provincials and Canadians at Oswego. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Nov. 29. Gage]. Trouble over payment of men engaged [Nov. 14?] by order of Gage; pay-master of New York battalion refused to pay men; hopes Gage will set matters to rights. Auto. Draft. 1p.

See: letters of Feb. 2 and Feb. 25, 1765.

1764. Robinson, Beverly. New York. To John Bradstreet. Dec. 17. Account of monies paid by Col. Bradstreet for pitch, tar, etc. sent to Albany for service of the Crown from Mar. 26 to Oct. 13, 1764. D. S. 3pp.

1764. Hill, Launcelot. Albany. To John Bradstreet. Dec. 23. Account of monies paid to 19 men of 55th regiment employed in carpentry or batteau service. Account is from Sept. 19 to Oct. 3, 1764, and is receipted by Hill. D. S. 1p.

1764. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas
Dec. 24. Gage]. Acknowledges letter of Dec. 15; supposes
he is free to tell officers that Gage will not forward
their petition as to land at Detroit; encloses
return from Capt. [Hugh] Arnot of 46th regiment
commanding at Oswego; would have sent high-
landers to Fort George but Gage's orders forbade
it; Capt. [William] Winepress will march away
as soon as road is passable. Auto. Draft. 1p.

[1764.] [Bradstreet, John. Albany]. Letter to [Thomas
[Dec?] Gage]. Plan for conciliation of Indians in
Northern districts of North America; recom-
mends distribution of agricultural implements,
horses, etc. among them and the settlement
of missionaries as was done by the French;
estimates the expense and suggests that the
whole affair be conducted by the Crown and
not by the colonies; considers the Oneidas and
Hurons as best tribes on which the experiment
should be first tried. Auto. Draft. 4pp.

[1764?] [Bradstreet, John. Albany]. Letter to [Thomas
Gage]. Encloses accounts of Baxter and Hum-
phrey with original receipts of individual wagon-
ers employed by that firm in the public service;
vouches for the accounts; believes that even
[James] Livingston can find nothing to find
fault with in them. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1765. Christie, John. Fort George. To [John Bradstreet].
Jan. 2. Certificate of service performed by Peter Fonda
in transporting troops in British service, with
receipt by Fonda dated Oct. 8, 1766. D. S. 2pp.

1765. Degrov, [Michel.] Albany. To [John] Bradstreet.
Jan. 23. Two receipts for £7 and £27, payment for
services as interpreter to Indians on campaign
[of 1764]. D. S. 2pp.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Feb. 2. Gage. Encloses monthly return of 46th regi-
ment and state of garrison at Niagara received
from Lt. Col. [John] Vaughan; condition of
New York volunteers enlisted by Bradstreet
at Gage's order; £3250 currency due these
troops and they threaten to sue writer for that
amount; having law and justice on their side,
Bradstreet suggests that these men be paid
and the colony trusted to reimburse the money.
Auto. Draft. 1p.

See following entry and references.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Feb. 25. Gage]. Acknowledges letter [of Feb?] with war-
rant; regrets that Gage will not provide money
for payment of New York volunteers; details
circumstances under which he recruited them
and awkward place in which he finds himself,
as both British and Colonial authorities refuse
to reimburse him; case the same regarding
money spent necessarily on the Indians; gives
testimony of Maj. [William] Hogan that men
served in British army; money due for batteau
service also; poor condition of wagons and of
cattle at Albany. Auto. Draft. 3pp.

See: same to same, Nov. 29, 1764, and Feb. 2, 1765; also
Bradstreet to Shelburne, Nov. 2, 1766.

- [1765?] [Gage, Thomas. New York.] Letter to [John]
[Feb.?] Bradstreet]. Articles in "A Brief State of the
Circumstances relating to Colonel Bradstreet's
enlisting 107 men for the New York Battalion
in 1764 which the General objects to." In ms.
of Gabriel Maturin, Secy. to Maj. Genl. Gage, 2pp.
A copy of this manuscript was enclosed by Brad-
street in letter to Lord Shelburne, Nov. 2, 1766.

See preceding entry and Bradstreet, John, Account of
Enlistments, Nov. 2, 1766.

1765. **Maitland, Richard.** New York. To [John]
Mar. 14. Bradstreet. Directions for sending cargoes of
stores or provisions from any of the King's
magazines. A. D. S. 2pp.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Mar. 22. Gage. Winter allowances to men cutting boat
timber or gathering hay; carriage of provisions;
report from Capt.-Lt. [Patrick] Balneaves of
conditions at Fort Edward. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1765. **Fonda, Jellis & Co.** [Albany.] To [John Brad-
Mar. 23. street]. Accounts against the Crown for pro-
visions and transportation during 1764, with
receipts by Fonda to Bradstreet for payment
in full. A. D. S. 2pp.

[1765.] **Glen, Cornelius.** [Schenectady.] To [Commissary]
[Apr. 19] Officers and whom it may concern]. Orders
to pass bearers, William Sinewood and five
others in two batteaux loaded with naval stores
for Fort Ontario. A. D. S. 2pp.

Attached are notes of journey of batteaux.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Apr. 25. Gage. Explains distribution of liquor and other
presents among the Indians and requests reim-
bursement for money thus expended. Auto.
Draft. 1p.

In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1765. **Arnot, Hugh.** [Niagara.] To [John Bradstreet].
Apr. 30. Certificate of service of non-commissioned officers
and privates of the 46th regt. employed Nov. 1,
1764 to date in Quarter Master General's dept.
Account for each of seven companies is signed
by officer of company and the whole account,
£176, 18s. 6d. is countersigned by Arnot. The
account bears receipt of Cornelius Cuyler dated
Mar. 6, 1766. A. D. S. 2pp.

1765. **Albany, Dutch Church.** [Albany.] To John Bradstreet. Church account against Bradstreet for £12, 11s. 2d. payable to Whitehead Hicks in behalf of the church. The account is made out in the name of the minister, elders and deacons of the church and accompanying it is a receipt for the payment of the account, dated Nov. 12, 1766, signed by E[ilardus] Westerlo jr. D[eputy] W[arden]. D. S. 2pp.

- [1765.] **[Bradstreet, John.] Albany.** Letter to [Thomas Gage]. Forwards letters by express; is about to send provisions to Fort Stanwix in large quantity unless this be considered unwise and order countermanded [by Gage]; considers the French "at the bottom of this Indian affair and the Five Nations as ripe for putting their grand scheme into execution as any" [other Indians]. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1765. **Grant, A[llan?] Schenectady.** To [John Bradstreet]. Certificate of services of Samuel Staats in transporting naval stores. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. **Glen, John. Sch[enectady].** To the Commissary May 3. Officers [and whom it may concern]. Order to pass bearers with provision batteaux; if goods are delivered receipt to be given and any deficiency to be noted on order. A. D. S. 1p.

Above is followed by bill of lading of batteaux in charge of Evert Van Gis; six batteaux loaded by Van Gis and eighteen others, all to be delivered at Oswego.

- Glen, John. Schenectady.** To "John" [Jellis] Fonda. Certificate that Fonda is in charge of naval stores to be delivered at Fort Ontario, Albany. That he be not delayed on any receipt for delivery be made of receiving stores. Attached are [unclear] and Buffington dated May 20

for goods, and of Fonda, dated Jul. 23, 1766,
for money in payment of services. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. Demler, George. Fort Stanwix. To John Glen.
May 22. Certificate of services in transporting stores,
performed by William Quin, with receipt of
John Monier, dated Nov. 1, 1766, in payment
of above services. A. D. S. 2pp. .

1765. Etherington, George. Fort George. To John Brad-
street. Certificate of services in transporting
baggage, performed by Charles McKay and
duplicate in favor of Samuel Dox. Attached
are receipts by Guert Van Schoonhoven, dated
Jul. 19. A. Ds. S. 2pp. each.

1765. Cooke, John. Fort George. To Henry Dowlar
May 24. and two others. Certificate to Henry Dowlar,
Andrew [Andris] Johnson and William Peters
for provisions from Halfmoon with receipt by
Johnson, dated Aug. 13, 1766, in full of account.
A. D. S. 1p.

1765. Vaughan, John. Niagara. To John Bradstreet.
May 24. Encloses bill of John Stedman against Brad-
street for services as wagon master at Niagara,
1764-1765; certifies as to employment as stated
and that bill should be paid by Bradstreet.
On verso is receipt of Stedman [Feb.] 2, 1766
for payment of above account. D. S. 1p.

1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To Commissary Offi-
May 25. cers [and whom it may concern]. Directions
for passing bearers of letter with provision
batteaux; deficiencies to be noted; goods to
be delivered to Douw Fonda by James Cary
and five men and are for use of Indians.
Attached are receipts of Fonda of May 26 and
of Cornelius Cuyler of Nov. 6, in payment of
services rendered. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To Commissary Offi-
Jun. 11. cers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to
pass bearers with provision batteaux; when
goods are delivered, receipt is to be given and
any deficiency noted on orders. Attached are
bills of lading for six batteaux and receipt
signed by Edward Smyth at Fort Stanwix
Jun. 16 for goods listed. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. McIntosh, George. Fort Edward. To [John]
Jun. 14. Bradstreet. Certificate of services of John
Fluree [Flower?] employed four and one-half
days in repairing boat used as ferry near Fort
Edward. A. D. S. 1p.

During July, similar certificates of services performed
were given Bradstreet regarding Martin Van Alstyn, John
Feather, Solomon Pitcher and Daniel Dunham.

1765. Duncan, John. [Schenectady.] To [John Bradstreet].
Jul. 17. Sworn statement before John Glen jr., as to
character and price of lumber furnished. D. S. 1p.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas
Aug. 4. Gage]. Acknowledges letter of Jul. 29, enclosing
petition of [Mathew] Trotter; petitioner was
offered as much pay as he had earned but refused
it; charges were too high; asks instructions as
to enlistment of deserters and interpretation
of act of Parliament for quartering troops etc.
upon the people. Auto. Draft. 1p.

This measure for quartering soldiers upon Americans
was passed in Apr. 1765, being an extension of the Mutiny
Act to America. It was known as the Quartering or
Billeting Act in the Colonies.

[1765.] Glen, John. [Schenectady.] To [Commissary
[Aug. 7?] Officers and whom it may concern]. Orders
[to pass Abraham Van Eps and eight men] with
provision batteaux en route to Oswego. Four
notes regarding the trip to Sept. 1 are attached.
A. D. S. 2pp.

1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To [John] Bradstreet.
Aug. 10. Certificate of batteaux for royal service delivered by Eleazer Cawey with receipt of Henry Glen in behalf of Cawey dated Jul. 23, 1766 for payment in full of account. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To Commissary Offi-
Aug. 12. cers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to pass bearers with provision batteaux; on delivery of goods receipt to be given and any deficiency to be noted on orders; Andrew Wimple in charge of batteaux and provisions are to be delivered to Douw Fonda for use of Indians at Caughnawa. Attached are receipts of Fonda dated Aug. 14 for goods and of Peter Comyn dated Nov. 6 for services performed. A. D. S. 1p.

1765. Glen, John. [Schenectady.] To Commissary
Aug. 13. Officers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to pass bearers with provision batteaux for Fort Stanwix; when goods are delivered receipt to be given and deficiencies noted on orders. Attached are three notes regarding passage of boats. A. D. S. 2pp.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Aug. 18. Gage. Acknowledges letter of Aug. 12; allowance of wagons to a regiment made by Sir Jeffrey Amherst; difference of conditions between taking the field and marching to port; is forwarding tobacco in accordance with orders. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1765. Grant, Allan. Fort George. To [John] Bradstreet.
Sep. 1. Certificate of services of Vincent Benneway [or Benoit] in movement from Albany to Fort George with receipt of Benneway dated May 25, 1766 for payment of account. A. D. S. 1p.

Similar certificates were given Bradstreet during September and October regarding Jacob Van Vordt, Jykeris

Van der Bogart, Cornelius Cuyler, and notes as to services of John Heimstrart, Lawrence Clew and Henry and Isaac Lawson. Many of these manuscripts have receipts for payments for services attached.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. To [Thomas] Gage.
Oct. 14. States charge made against himself by the Atty. Genl. of New York in dispute with "Dutch Church"; is charged with using and injuring lands of church 1759-1762 to extent of £1000; despite lack of proof that land belonged to church or that any trespass was made by his order and refusal of Commander in Chief [Sir Jeffrey Amherst] to support claim, arbiters decide that he must pay £210; advises Gage to submit proceedings to the king's ministers together with copy of charter of city under which land is claimed; charter is not good in law and people should be informed that there is no basis for claim. Auto. Draft. 2pp.
See: Bradstreet to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, May 23, and Amherst to Bradstreet, Aug. 28, 1763.
1765. Arnot, Hugh. [Niagara.] To [John Bradstreet].
Oct. 31. Certificate of service of non-commissioned officers and privates of the 46th regiment employed May 1 in Quarter Master General's department. Account for each of eight companies is signed by officer of company and the whole account, £68. 18s. is countersigned by Arnot. On verso is receipt by Cornelius Cuyler to Bradstreet dated Mar. 6, 1766. A. D. S. 2pp.
1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To [John] Bradstreet.
Nov. 9. Statement of account of Teunis Van Vleck against the Crown for carriage of baggage fourteen days, with receipt of Van Vleck dated Jul. 15, 1766 in full of above charge. A. D. S. 1p.
1765. Glen, John. Schenectady. To [John] Bradstreet.
Nov. 10. Certificate of service of Adam Smith in impressment of carriages for King's use with receipt
- .

of Smith dated Apr. 7, 1766, in full of above charge. A. D. S. 2pp.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] Nov. 17. Gage]. Sickness of barrack master at Fort Edward; difficulties in procuring wood for the winter; supplies which need renewing; poor condition of roads. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1765. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] Nov. 23. Gage. Acknowledges letter of Nov. 17; to prevent the corporation of Albany destroying the new barracks before arrival of additional troops has moved a portion of the garrison thither; encloses copies of correspondence with the Mayor on the matter, also return of additional troops; bearer of letter has petition of Assembly regarding men raised for the New York battalion in 1764. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1766. Byerly, Frederick. Fort Edward. To Gerrit Feb. 17. Knoet [Abert?]. Receipt for 12 bbls. of flour brought to post by Gerrit Knoet, Jacob Knoet and Nicholas Van Vrank. Attached is receipt of Apr. 13, for payment for flour. A. D. S. 2pp.

1766. Maitland, Richard. New York. To [John Bradstreet]. Feb. 28. General orders respecting marching of troops and all contingent charges; method of arranging accounts; allowances for detachments; payment of incidental expenses, etc. D. S. 3pp.

1766. Vaughan, John. New York. To John Bradstreet. Mar. 10. Account of money due Quartermaster George Butrick of the 46th regiment in payment of wages of four men for 36 days' service making hay at Niagara, £7. 4s. N. Y. currency. Attached is receipt of Butrick dated Mar. 16 for above account. D. S. 1p.

1766. **Bayley**, William. Schenectady. To [John Bradstreet]. Certificate of services of John Vedder and of Jean Baptiste Van Eps in transporting provisions from Albany. Attached is receipt of Jacob W. Schermerhorn dated Aug. 14 for payment in full for Vedder's services. A. D. S. 3pp.

1766. **Maitland**, Richard. New York. To [John] Bradstreet. Jun. 14. Orders for march of six companies 1st battalion, Royal American regiment to Quebec. D. S. 1p.

1766. **Bleecker**, Henry, jr. Albany. To John Bradstreet. Jun. 30. Receipt of £7. 4s. "which with £80 from * * * Abraham Dow" is for the pay of the late Anthony Bleecker, Interpreter May 1-Dec. 4, 1764 in the [Indian] expedition of that year. D. S. 1p.

1766. **Gage**, Thomas. New York. To [John] Bradstreet. Jun. 30. or Officer in command at Albany. Directs examination of evidence against John Dubell and Garret Van Slyke of Albany for aiding deserters; information may be obtained from Capt. [Philip] Schuyler; four deserters named. L. S. 2pp.

1766. **Glen**, John. Schenectady. To [John] Bradstreet. Jul. 1. Certificate of batteaux for royal service delivered by John Johnson and Adam Fonda. Attached is receipt of Jellis Fonda dated Jul. 23 for payment in full of above account. A. D. S. 1p.

During July similar certificates of service performed or of material furnished were given Bradstreet regarding Jan Vrooman, Jacob Hemstreack, Gerrit Knoet [Abert?] and John Van Vrank all of which have receipts attached for payment of services rendered.

1766. **Carye**, L[ucius] F[erdinan]d. Fort Edward. To Jul. 4. Philip Schuyler. Has been charged ferriage for 224 men and 17 wagons but finds no precedent for payment of such charges for king's

troops; if charge is just requests Schuyler to pay it and repayment will be made upon his return to Albany. A. L. S. 1p.

1766. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] [Jul.] 21. Gage]. Has applied to the Mayor [of Albany] as to completion and furnishing of barracks for soldiers; reasons for existing conditions. Auto. Draft. 1p.

In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts. See: Bradstreet to Gage. Nov. 23, 1765.

1766. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] Sept. 15. Gage. Acknowledges letter of Sept. 1; will follow instructions respecting 17th regiment upon their receipt; explains delay in forwarding public accounts for previous year; [Philip] Schuyler not able to sell bills upon satisfactory footing; asks if any word has been received from England as to payment of men raised for the [New] York battalion [of the 55th regiment]. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1766. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas] Oct. 25. Gage. Acknowledges letter of Oct. 20; as he was so pressing for settlement of last year's accounts writer advanced money to do so not waiting for sale of [Gage's] bills; has been informed by [Philip] Schuyler that bills have since been sold; has referred the portion of letter relating to Schuyler to that person; considers [John] Glen a very capable assistant and prefers to make up from his own pocket any reduction in Glen's salary rather than to lose that official; will send last year's account to him by Schuyler. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

[1766.] Comyn, Peter. [Albany.] To [John] Bradstreet. [Oct?]. Statement of account showing cash received from [Maj.] Genl. [Thomas] Gage and succeeding items furnished. In Ms. of clerk. 1p.

1766. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. To [William Petty, Nov. 2. Earl Shelburne?] Explains circumstances connected with his enlistment of men for the New York battalion [of the 55th regt.] by order of Maj. Genl. [Thomas] Gage Apr. 2, 1764 to date; refusal of province and of Gage to pay men; has been sued for wages of soldiers amounting to nearly £2000 and is told by lawyers that he must pay; asks whether he better enter suit against Gage for amount; has forwarded a memorial of the matter to the Treasury through Gage but has heard nothing of it; requests Shelburne's influence; will write the king or his Secretary at War if advised to do so. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

See: Bradstreet to Gage, Feb. 2 and Feb. 25, 1765; Jan. 15, 1767; and the following account.

- [1766?] [Bradstreet, John. Albany.] Account of enlist- [Nov. 2?] ments in New York 1764. Account is in reply to [Maj. Genl. Thomas Gage]: "A Brief state of the circumstance relating to Colonel Bradstreet's enlisting 107 men for the New York Battalion in 1764". The reasons for the enlistment are given and the position in which Bradstreet as well as the troops enlisted are left because of the neglect of province and of Commander in Chief is set forth. Auto. Draft. 4pp.

Enclosed in preceding manuscript.

See: Gage to Bradstreet, Feb. 1765.

1766. [Albany, Dutch Church.] Albany. To John Brad- Nov. 12. street. Receipt by E[ilardus] Westerlo, jr.

See: Account of the Church against Bradstreet Apr. 1765.

1766. Maturin, G[abriel.] New York. Letter to [John] Nov. 29. Bradstreet. Explanations [of accounts presented] are satisfactory; returns vouchers with abstract of what has been paid and what remains due on contingent account; clerk will pay balance

whenever desired; Board of Treasury hold [Maj.] Genl. [Thomas Gage] accountable for all disbursements in North America; latter desired heads of departments to have account with Treasury as before subject only to his approval. A. L. S. 2pp.

Maturin was Gage's Secretary at headquarters, New York.

1766. **Maturin**, G[abriel.] Head Quarters. [New York.]
Dec. 4. Letter to [John] Bradstreet. Has examined charge for soldiers annexed to Bradstreet's memorial; requests list of such bills as Bradstreet can most conveniently use to the total of above charge; temporary receipt to be given [Maj.] Genl. [Thomas Gage] until permanent policy of Board of Treasury is known and answer to memorial received; has forwarded balance of account for 1765 and £1000 currency toward expense of current year. A. L. S. 2pp.

1766. **Crippen**, Joseph. Sharon, [Conn.] To John Brad-
Dec. 26. street. Assignment to Solomon Strong of power to collect wages when serving in company of Capt. Isaac Van Valkenburgh in 1764. The manuscript is in the hand of John Williams, is witnessed by John and William Williams, and sworn to before John Williams, Justice of the Peace. D. S. 1p.

1767. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Jan. 15. Gage. Acknowledges letter of Jan. 6; had no intention of asking for a gratuity when seeking reimbursement for expenses in connection with raising troops for campaign of 1764; case of Col. [Henry] Bouquet not like his nor are the cases in European service; if his "expenses for the good of the service" can not be repaid in whole requests a part, thanks Gage for services thus far rendered. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1767. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany: Letter to [Thomas]
Jan. 22. Gage. Troops have interfered to prevent towns-
people tearing down government store house;
"some gentlemen of the law at New York"
claim the building could be torn down as a public
nuisance but troops acted in accordance with
Gage's orders; fears the courts will uphold the
view of the lawyers. Auto. Draft. 1p.

1767. Wood, Draper S. Albany. Letter to John Brad-
Feb. 3. street. Sleds wanted for Sir William Johnson's
Indians. A. L. S. 1p.

In Sir William Johnson Manuscripts.

1767. Stephens, James. Fort Stanwix. To John "Glyn"
Jun. 26. [Glen]. Certificate of services of Robart Strange
in transporting ordnance to Schenectady; six
days delay at Fort Stanwix. Attached are
receipts of James Nash dated Jul. 4 for ordnance
received and of Abraham Oothout dated
Jan. 23, 1768 for money in payment of services
rendered. D. S. 2pp.

1767. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas]
Nov. 14. Gage]. Understands that Assembly meets Nov.
17 and that Gov. Henry Moore is to urge pay-
ment for men enlisted by Bradstreet [in 1764];
gives account of the circumstances that Gage
may submit the matter to the legislature in his
own name; Col. [Philip] Schuyler will render
any assistance desired in the matter; letters
given to Schuyler to be placed before Assembly
if Gage consents. Auto. Draft. 1p. incomplete.

1767. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Gage].
Nov. 22. Encloses account for 1766 and will forward
return of outstanding debts as soon as possible;
guns taken from French at Oswego by desire
of Sir William Johnson; wishes the number

received by [John] Butler for use of Indians; refers to Capt. [Gabriel] Maturin for information; sends two accounts of what is due him [Bradstreet] for campaign of 1764; one includes expenditure for secret service; by precedent of 1756 this service is allowed; if not approved, will try to have it paid "at home." Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1768. Schuyler, Abraham. Albany. To Jellis Fonda.
Jul. 25. Receipt for five bear skins from Petrus Van Driessen. A. D. S. 1p.

1768. Glen, John. Schenectady. To Commissary Officers [and whom it may concern]. Orders to pass bearers with provision batteaux under charge of "Wouter Dance"; on receipt of goods acknowledgment to be made and deficiencies to be noted on orders. A. D. S. (2) 2pp.

On verso are Glen's instructions to Wouter Dance and receipt from Lt. [John] Galland to Dance, each an A. N. S.

1768. Glen, John. Schenectady. To John Bradstreet.
Nov. 4. Certificate that Cornelius Glen has furnished one batteau for royal service with receipt by Abraham Cuyler dated Jan. 10, 1771 for payment of account. A. D. S. 2pp.

1768. Glen, John. [Schenectady.] To [John Bradstreet].
Dec. 20. Certificate of services of Albert Vidder [Vedder?] in repairing 13 batteaux. A. D. S. 1p.

1769. [Bradstreet, John.] Albany. Letter to [Thomas Jan. 15. Gage]. Trouble over the payment of debts outstanding from 1767, a list of which was forwarded in Oct. [Dec.] of that year; people are suing [John] Glen and latter, being only an agent, falls back on Bradstreet; hopes he will not be compelled to pay just debts of the army;

encloses accounts for 1768 "chiefly for Sir William Johnson's Department" and unpaid debts of 1767; disputes between late Capt. [John] Stevens and batteau men; troubles with Capt. [Joshua] Loring and testimony of Col. [Delancey] Robinson in this matter; if money is allowed as desired, writer will draw on [Abraham] Mortier for it. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

1769. [Bradstreet, John]. Albany. Letter to [Thomas Feb. 18. Gage]. Encloses account of contingent expenses and outstanding debts for previous year; precautions taken to prevent fraud; encloses copy of instructions from Sir Jeffrey Amherst for discharge of outstanding debts contracted during [William] Shirley's administration; trouble anticipated for [John] Glen; position of Capt. [Robert] Rogers in the past. Auto. Draft. 2pp.

[1770?] [Bradstreet, John]. [Albany. To Gov. John Murray, Earl Dunmore and the Council of New York.] [May] Petition and argument setting forth the invalidity of the Hardenbergh patent in New York and petitioner's right to 300,000 acres of lands purchased from the Indians in 1769; purchase was by consent of Sir William Johnson and in the presence of Sir Henry Moore; requests that claim be confirmed by royal grant. The argument, framed by Bradstreet's attorney and strengthened by additions, was forwarded [by Dunmore?] to the Lords of Trade and Plantation March, 1771. Draft. 72pp.

See Docts. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, VIII, 267, 268, 271, 287, 289, 294, 347, 378, and following entry. This manuscript is printed in full on page 149 of this volume.

1771. [Johnson, Sir William.] Johnson Hall. Letter to Jan. 22. Col. [John] Bradstreet. Acknowledges letter of Dec., 1770; considers it but just to state that Six Nations declared that they and they only had the

right to sell lands west of Popaghtonk branch; although lands claimed under Hardenbergh patent, Indians granted land to Bradstreet in presence of Sir Henry Moore; could be more circumstantial but thinks above statement sufficient for Bradstreet's purpose. Copy. 1p.

Draft of above is in Sir William Johnson Papers in New York State Library.

1771. **Coventry, George.** Fairhill near Hamilton, [Bermuda?] Jun. 25. Letter to John Bradstreet. Difficulties regarding his brother and his work in New York; career of latter and of his nephew; asks advice as to return to America; acknowledges letters of Dec. 9 [1770] from Bradstreet and Sept. 12 from Capt. [Philip] Schuyler. A. L. S. 2pp.

1771. **Coventry, George.** Hamilton. [Bermuda?]. Aug. 20. Letter to John Bradstreet or Capt. Philip Schuyler. Acknowledges letters of Sept. 12 and Dec. 9, 1770 from Schuyler and Bradstreet respectively; gives directions regarding management of farms; Stevenson farm at Claverack to be taken from his brother and put in charge of his nephew Alexander Patterson; other personal matters. A. L. S. 1p.

On verso in auto. of Bradstreet is list of provisions placed on board two sloops.

1772. **Monier, John.** Albany. To [John] Bradstreet. Oct. 19. Account of Post Officer at Albany against Bradstreet from Jul. 5, 1771 to Sept. 26, 1772, with receipt for payment of account in full. D. S. 1p.

1773. [Bradstreet, John. Albany.] Letter to [William May 10. Petty, Earl Shelburne?]. Recounts his services in behalf of the Crown from 1745 to date and declares himself to have been hardly used;

several inferior officers promoted over his head; is the only general officer in the service without a regiment; hopes for this recognition of his services although he has "not gone to England to importune for what he had a right to expect." Auto. Draft. 2pp.

Bradstreet had been promoted to a Major Generalship May 25, 1772.

1773. **Glen, John.** Sche[nectády]. To [John] Bradstreet. Aug. 20. Returns Book of [Land] Patents; finds that he has just claim to large estate in Schenectady; movements of Gov. [William] Tyron. A. L. S. 1p.

1773. **Bradstreet, John.** Albany. Letter to William Sept. 29. Tryon. Petitions that [George] McIntosh and others from New England be put off certain lands purchased by Bradstreet from the Indians under leave of Sir Henry Moore; location of lands on main branch of Delaware river; considers Hardenbergh Patent [1706] not inclusive of his lands but rather invalid and of no force. A. D. S. 4pp.

See: Bradstreet, John. Petition May, 1770, and Docs. relating to Col. Hist. of New York VIII, 272.

1773. **Coventry, George.** Fairhill, [Bermuda?] Letter to Oct. 11. John Bradstreet. Has purchased land in Island of St. Johns; will sell home place as soon as possible for he wishes much to go to his new purchase; intends sending Alexander Patterson to begin a settlement there; asks regarding his brother; in case latter leaves farm which he is working, desires Bradstreet to put William Martin in charge; offer to his brother in case he will leave; respects to [Philip] Schuyler. A. L. S. 1p.

1773. **Glen, John.** Schenectady. To [John] Bradstreet. Dec. 30. Explanations regarding stores for the Indians; acknowledges note by Adam Condie. A. L. S. 1p.

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[1773.] Bradstreet, John. [Albany.] State of Account with Phyn & Ellice. Existing relation between the two parties; claims against Bradstreet with reply of latter to these claims. Auto Draft. 6pp.

1777[?] Wain, Anthony. [Albany.] To [Estate of] John Sept. 11. Bradstreet. Account against Bradstreet for meats, with receipt in full dated Oct. 16. A. D. S. 1p.

Endorsed: Anthony Wayne.

**THE CLAIMS OF
COL. JOHN BRADSTREET
TO
LANDS IN AMERICA.**

NOTE.

Few Colonial land titles in America have been contested with more vigor than that of Col. John Bradstreet to certain Indian lands within the limits of the present state of New York. Interfering as it did with claims under the Hardenbergh patent of 1706, Bradstreet's title was as aggressively opposed as it was ardently maintained, both in the colony of New York and at the Court of Great Britain. A summary of the action taken upon the Bradstreet claim will not be amiss as an introduction to the argument by which it was supported.

So far as the native title was concerned, Bradstreet's claim originated in an Indian deed of October 29, 1768, and was completed by the acceptance of the deed and the payment of the purchase money in the following year. On presenting a petition for a patent from the Government in May, 1770, Bradstreet was at once opposed by the Hardenbergh proprietors, following which the Council of New York on May 30, 1770, directed Bradstreet to serve a copy of his petition and the order taken thereon upon the Hardenbergh proprietors with a summons to them for July 4, to show cause why his prayer should not be granted. After some delay, Dec. 10 was assigned for the argument of counsel for the Bradstreet claim and on that date the major portion of this argument, printed upon the following pages, was presented. In opposition to Bradstreet's claim which held the earlier patent invalid and its construction strained, counsel for the Hardenbergh proprietors presented their case on Feb. 5, 1771, following which the Bradstreet argument was concluded. Further evidence was given on March 11 and 18, and on the 20th of the same month a grant of 20,000 acres was made by the Council to Bradstreet.

Upon reference of both petition and grant to the British authorities for their formal approval this action was on June 5,

1771, declared illegal, the home government holding that the New York Provincial Council lacked power to decide upon the petition. The letter of Lord Hillsborough giving this decision aroused the Council and on August 14 that body made a report at length in answer to Hillsborough maintaining the powers of the province.

As a result of this additional contest the validity of the Bradstreet claim remained unsettled for two years. The discussion was transferred to England and not until August 31, 1773, was the petition granted once more by the Council of New York. The death of Bradstreet in the following year left the claim to his heirs for final settlement with the later state of New York.

The manuscript as printed on the following pages gives in full the argument of Bradstreet's counsel, those portions being noted which were added before presentation in England. So far as known, no other copy of Bradstreet's argument exists in this country, and the commissioners from New York appear to have found nothing of the character when transcribing in England the manuscripts there filed relating to the Colonial history of New York. It is here printed as a good illustration of the vagueness with which land grants were described and the character of the arguments by which they were maintained during the Colonial period of American history.

THE ARGUMENT.

May it please your Lordship & the Honorable Board:—

There is perhaps no Tribunal at which Declamation will less succeed than at this Honorable Board. When Judges are of a Rank superior to those Emotions which in vulgar Minds usurp the place of Reason the Orator cannot expect to bear his blushing Honors thick upon him. The Weight of Evidence the Energy of Argument will command Attention & the plain Road of Common Sense will lead to conviction while the flowery Path of Rhetoric remains neglected and untrodden. Had those Sentiments been adopted by the Gentlemen who spoke agt us much Time unnecessarily spent might have been Excused and were it not that the Matter in Controversy is of very great importance to the Crown & my Claim I should have saved your Lordship & this Board the Trouble of attending to this Reply. The Gentlemen who oppose us have endeavoured to support such an Extension of the Patent to Joh^h[annes Hardenbergh as is opposed to] the Right of the Crown and Deprives my Client & his Associates of the Benefit of an Indian pact Regularly obtained and of the [advantage] of his Majesty's Letters patent for the Lands in Controversy. And as at the opening of this [Controversy] it was made a Question whether Col. Bradstreet is entitled to the Grace of the Crown even were the Lands vacant. I shall in the Course of this Reply—

First shew that he is in a Situation [which] entitles him to ask that Grace and Secondly, that there is room for contending if the Patent to Hardenbergh and others be justified [it should be restricted] within proper bounds. And as to the first point my Lord^a—

According to the Regulation that has for some Years existed
First Set of Proofs. no purchase can be made of the Indians but by
 the Govr. or Commander in Chief for his Majesty's
 use at some public meeting with the Indian Tribe to whom the

^a The words within the brackets are supplied by the Editor when the original manuscript is torn or illegible.

^b These two introductory paragraphs appear to have been added when the argument was taken from the New York authorities and presented to the British Court. Other changes of wording will be noticed as the argument proceeds.

Lands belong—That the Lands in Controversy were thus purchased will be rendered evident from an Indian Deed No. 1. Read it. Indian deed procured in conformance to the above mentioned Regulation at the Expense of Col. Bradstreet and his Associates.

From this deed it appears that Col. Bradstreet and his Associates paid the Indians a large Consideration, that the Gov^r. obtained the Conveyance to his Majesty's Use at a General Treaty and that it was made by the Indians expressly with the Intent that Col. Bradstreet and his Associates should have the preference to all others in obtaining his Majesty's Letters patent for the Lands thereby conveyed.

But besides this Conformity to the Regulation prescribed by the royal Proclamation the purchase was made with the privity of Sir W^m. Johnson Superin(ten)dent for Indian Affairs in the Northern District.

No. 2 Sir Wm. Johnson's Letter. Read it. This appears by his Letter^s to Col. Bradstreet on the subject—

This Letter my Lord will serve not only to shew Sir William's Privity to the purchase and that it was publicly transacted as appears from these Words in it "If I was sufficiently recovered to have recourse to the several proceedings at that Time I might possibly be more circumstantial but I fancy this will prove satisfactory as to the Idea the Indians entertained and their Intentions in making the Grant to You" [but] it will also be of use under the Second General Head and shew in Addition to what has been offered in proof from the Acts & Declaration of the Esopus Indians (under whom the Proprietors of Hardenbergh's patent Claim their Indian Title) that both those Indians & the Six Nations agreed that the property of the Lands in Controversy were in the latter as the native original prop^{rs} thereof.

True it is that the Lands in Controversy are within the Line established at the above mentioned Treaty as the boundary of the Lands ceded by the Indians to the Crown; but as that Cession was posterior to our purchase and as by the Terms of the Treaty (of which we are informed the Gov^t. is possessed) it will appear that the Indians made a Saving in favor of those of his Majesty's Subjects to whom they had sold Land, the Cession must operate as a Confirmation of our Indian Title. And that We reason justly, my Lord, will appear from an Extract of the Treaty which I beg leave to read.

No. 3 Col. Croghan's Certificate. Read it. The Fairness of this Transaction will further appear from a Certificate of Col. Croghan who was present at the Execution of our Deed & at the

^s See summary of letter in Calendar under date Jan 22, 1771.

Indian Treaty at which it was executed. But this fact is further confirmed by the Certificate of Robert Adems No. 4 Adems Certificate. Read it. one of the Witnesses sworn to by John Butler interpreter and the other Witnesses to the Indian Deed.

From those several pieces of Evidence my Lord we humbly conceive that it appears to a demonstration evident that the Lands in Controversy were purchased by Sir Henry Moore at our Expense at a public Meeting or Treaty with the Native Indian prop^{rs}., and tho' to his Majesty's use, yet in fact for our Benefit, and with a declared intent to entitle us to his Majesty's Letters patent for the same, that the Consideration was actually paid & the deed executed in the presence of Sir Henry Moore, that the purchase was confirmed by the Af^d. Treaty of Cession and we presume there is not the least Reason to doubt we should long since have experienced the Grace of the Crown in Common with several others of his Majesty's Subjects whose purchases were in the same predicament with ours, by the Grant of his Majesty's Letters patent, had it not been for that Groundless opposition of the proprietors of Hardenbergh's patent, which has hitherto obstructed all our Attempts made at a Great Expense to avail ourselves of his Majesty's Royal favor. But, my Lord, to shew that this Opposition is groundless, We shall proceed under the Second General Head.

1st. To recapitulate the arguments & proofs which we offered at the first Hearing against the Claim of our Opponents, etc.

2^d. To obviate such Objections as at the last hearing they attempted to avail themselves of—In the Execution of this part of our Task I shall aim at all possible Brevity; and flatter myself that every Obstacle which has hitherto prevented us from reaping the fruits of his Majesty's Royal Munificence will be effectually removed.

To do justice however to a Cause of so much importance, as we barely opened the points & read the Evidence we had to produce in support of them, without scarcely enforcing them with a single Reflection, I must beg the favor of your Lordship & the Honorable Board, that I may be a little more copious in this Reply.⁴

In the opening Argument, I broke two points. (1.) The suspicious Circumstances that attended the issuing of Hardenbergh's patent & from those concluded that the greatest favor the prop^{rs}. of that patent could expect was a rigid construction of their Boundaries—especially as it is a Crown Grant; (2.) That from a variety of Evidence it was extremely apparent that neither the Indians of whom they purchased nor the

⁴ The reference is to the opening argument and petition presented in May 1770. See summary of proceedings in prefatory note.

proprietors themselves ever till of late years esteemed the boundaries of that patent to extend beyond the Popaghtonk or East Branch of the Fish Kill or Northernmost Branch of Delaware River.

Under the first point my Lord I observed that as by the Policy of Law all Letters patent in England must pass thru' certain different Offices, which serve as a Check each upon the other to prevent undue alienations of the Crown Lands so in this Country there is and at least ever since the Gov.^t came into the Hands of the Crown, has been a fixed and established Channel thru' which every Grant of the Crown Lands must pass in order to be good and valid in the Law.

That his Majesty & his Royal predecessors have tho't fit to make the participation of his Council as well as that of his Gov^r. or Commander in Chief absolutely necessary in the Grant of Crown Lands—

That therefore every grant as to situation & Quantity which has not been fully & apparently assented to by the Council for the Time being must be null & void as issued without authority.

I then proceeded my Lord to shew that the Grant to Hardenbergh & Company was in that predicament. To evince this I adduced the following proofs.

(1.) Johannes Hardenbergh in behalf of himself & Company on the 18th July 1706 presented his petition to [Edward Hyde,] Lord Cornbury then Gov^r. of this province setting forth a discovery of a *Small* Tract of vacant & unappropriated Land in the County of *Ulster* & desiring to settle & improve it, he prays a License to purchase it of the Indians.

This my Lord was the first Step taken towards obtaining the patent in Question.

The petition is for a *Small* Tract of Land in the County of *Ulster only*—and yet scanty as the limits were which the petitioner assigned to himself, this petition was the first step towards a Grant containing, exclusive of the present & all other Controversies, upwards of 1100 M. [1100 000] Acres & extending into the County of Albany as well as that of Ulster.

(2.) The Gov^r. probably deceived with the pretence of the Smallness of the Tract without strictly enquiring into the Bounds or extent of Country the petitioner had in view did by an Order in Council the same day give the Petitioner a License to purchase a small Tract of Land in the County of Ulster

(3.) What Use the petitioner & his Associates made of this License for the purchase of a small Tract is not uncertain—For tho' the first petition & the License grounded on it were

Second Set of proofs.

A. Petition of Johannes Hardenbergh for a License to purchase a Small Tract in Ulster.

No. 1 B License to purchase a small Tract in Ulster.

No. 2 Second petition of Hardenbergh.

for a small Tract of Land yet the petitioner & his Associates as appears by their Second petition dated the 17th March 1706 / 7 had so enlarged their plan that instead of purchasing of the Indians a small Tract they had procured from them a Conveyance of "All That Tract of Land lying and being in the County of Ulster stretching from the Northwest Bounds of the Township of Marbletown northwesterly ten Miles beyond the Hills that lye on the south-east Side of the Low Lands or Meadow Land that lies on the Fish Kill or River and runs northeasterly with said Breadth till You come opposite to a Creek called by the Indians Anquothkon Kill where William Leggs Saw Mill stood, and further still running Northeasterly with the Breadth of Ten Miles from said Kill northwesterly, to the County of Albany & running Southwardly along the Northwest Bounds of the Town of Marbletown and Rochester with the full Breadth first above ment^d. till so far as to run with a due South East Line to a certain fall in the Rundour [Rondout] Creek called by the Indians Hoanekt^r. which is the northerly bounds of the Land called Nepenack [Napanock] belonging to Jacob Rutsen & Jan James Bleeker [Bleecker?]"'. This Extravagant purchase founded on a License for buying a small Tract appears from this petition to have given great Umbrage to their Neighbours. For this second petition declares that a Caveat had been entered ag^t. their obtaining a patent for the above described Tract which probably interfered with their Neighbours They therefore pray a day may be assigned for hearing the parties—

What became of this Contest we are not, perhaps for want of a proper search in the Secretary's office, able to determine. We will suppose however my Lord that for the present it was dropped. But

(4.) On the 19th June 1707 Hardenbergh & Company renewed their Application to Gov^t. by a third petition & prayed a Grant for the Lands they had purchased of the Indians—which was read in Council.

No. 3 A. Third petition of Hardenbergh.

No. 3 B. Order of Council on petitions of Hardenbergh & Hurley.

On that very day a petition of the Inhabitants & Freeholders of the Town of Hurley praying a Grant of a parcel of Land between Marbletown & Kingston & of another parcel between Kingston & the Blue Hills was also read in Council & both petitions were ordered to lie on the Table.

(5.) On the 4th of Feb^y 1707 Hardenbergh & Co. presented their petition to my Lord Cornbury by which they enlarged their Request even beyond the Bounds of their Indian purchase & beyond the Bounds of Ulster & extended it into the County of Albany; and by this petition they assert what is a downright Falsehood to wit that by his Excellency's favor & License

they had purchased some certain vacant Lands in the Counties of Ulster & Albany and then under a pretence that they were put off merely from an Apprehension that the Lands they had purchased might interfere with some former Grant, they, artfully pretending to avoid all Contest, pray for a Grant exactly in the Words of their present patent which include Lands in the County of Albany.

No. 4 B. Order (6.) On the day following, 5th Febr. 1707, that the petition the last mentioned petition was read and so lie on the Table. Cautious still were the Gov^r. & Council that they ordered that the petition should lie on the Table till the first Thursday in March then next and it was ordered that on that day the petitioners & the Inhab^{ts} of Hurley who had petitioned for a Tract of Land in the said County (Meaning the County of Ulster) should appear & be heard on their respective petitions on the first Tuesday in March then next.

No. 5 B. (7.) The Inhab^{ts}. of Hurley however did not appear at the day appointed & therefore on the 4th of March 1707/8 probably the day appointed for the purpose we find an Order of the Gov^r. & Council that the Inhab^{ts}. of Hurley do preemptorily appear that day Month to make out the Allegations of their former petition.

No. 6 B. (8.) On the 18th March 1707/8 but 14 days after the last Order there is an Entry in the Council Books of a petition of Cornelius Cook and Adrian Gerritse in behalf of themselves & the other Inhabitants of the County of Ulster withdrawing their Caveat & praying a Grant of the Lands mentioned in their former petition which are not included within the petition of Hardenbergh;

In consequence of which it was ordered by the Gov^r. & Council that a Warrant be prepared for the Atty General to prepare a Draft of Letters patent for the Lands petitioned for by Johannes Hardenbergh & Company in the County of Ulster and

No. 7 B. (9.) By an Entry in the Minutes of Council it appears that a Warrant to the Atty General to prepare a patent for Johannes Hardenbergh and Company was signed—The Quit rent three pounds—

Upon those pieces of Evidence we insisted that the Crown had been deceived in the Grant in Question for that the patentees had originally petitioned for a License to purchase a small Tract of Land in the County of Ulster & had abused that License by purchasing of the Indians a Tract of ten miles in Breadth & of a much more considerable Length, that they persisted in this Abuse, by petitioning for a patent for it; That after the Obstructions to their obtaining the patent for the Lands they had actually purchased beyond all reasonable Construction

of their License were removed, they then rose in their Demands yet they did it with great Artifice in their last petition by setting forth that to avoid Contests with their Neighbours they only prayed for the Tract of vacant Land as since described in their patent & lying within the Counties of *Ulster & Albany* & therefore extending beyond either of their former petitions and their licensed Indian purchase, that nevertheless the Order of Council on their last petition expressly restricted them to the County of *Ulster* notwithstanding which, Contrary to the established Rules for the Grant of Letters patent which require the participation & Consent of the Council as well as that of the Governour the patent issued in its present form and gave the Patentees Lands in the County of *Albany* contrary to the express Intention of the Council.⁶ That the Gov^r. & Council are in effect commissioners for granting the Crown Lands & must act jointly—That neither of them could execute this Trust alone, That the Gov^r. had not the Advice of Council to grant Lands in the County of *Albany*, but on the contrary acted ag^t. such advice in granting the patent in Question—That to suppose the declaration in the patent that it passed with the Advice of Council should be evidence of the fact, would be to contradict the last Entry in the Council Books which restricts the patent intended to be granted to the County of *Ulster*—That to give such efficacy to that declaration would be in effect to deprive the Council of their Right to participate with the Gov^r. in the Grant of Lands, by leaving it in his power in defiance of that Right to divest the Crown of its property even without the Knowledge of the Council & that by a single Assertion which in fact would be false—That tho' the Grant of the Crown is a Matter of Record yet any grant under the Great Seal of this province which notwithstanding any thing asserted in it, could be shewn not to have passed thro' the ordinary Channel would be as null & void as a patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain reciting all the prerequisites yet in fact & Truth supported by none of them would be. From all which it was concluded that the patent in Question issued upon false suggestion & deceit of the Crown & that therefore according to the clearest Rules of Law it is absolutely null & void & leaves full room for the Application of Col. Bradstreet's Indian purchase & petition, a Grant in Consequence of which cannot possibly interfere with any one's Right.

But to all this it was answered by the Counsel for Hardenberghs patent, that however clear it may be that the Council Board might have originally intended to confine the patent

⁶ Six lines are erased in the original manuscript at this point and as the following six lines give the argument in a form preferred by the Attorney they are omitted from this text.

to the County of Ulster yet there is evidence that they afterwards consented to an Enlargement of the Bounds of the Grant—
No. 8 [B.]

To support this Assertion the Warr^t. to the Attorney General to prepare the Draft of the Letters patent dated the 15th April 1708 was produced; the Bounds of which run exactly in the same words with those of the patent itself. And to justify this Warrant Reference was had to the Entry in the Council Books of
No. 7^a

that day by which it appears that the Warr^t. for the patent was signed. From whence it was concluded that the Council were privy to the Terms of the Warrant & consequently to the Boundaries contained in the patent.

When I first opened this Matter, my Lord, I was utterly ignorant that such a Warrant existed—Col. Bradstreet informed me that he could find no warrant in the Office. whence I naturally concluded that the Warr^t. referred to in the last mentioned Entry in the Council Books, if any ever issued, must have been grounded on the Order of the 18th March preceeding which expressly directs that the Warr^t. to the Atty General to prepare a patent should be confined to the Lands petitioned for in the County of Ulster.

Nor my Lord can I still help thinking that this warrant was run either upon the Governour or the Council or both without due Knowledge of its contents.¹ For neither the Warrant nor the Entry which in date corresponds with it appears to have been read in Council, nor is there the least Entry in the Council Books to show that the Gov^r. and Council had reconsidered the last petition of Hardenbergh the formal Order of Determination on which was that he should have a patent for the Lands petitioned for in the County of Ulster. It is easy therefore to conceive that as the Warrant was merely signed in Council its Variance from that formal Order passed unobserved; and ought to have no more Credit from the Circumstance of its being signed there & the Entry of the Secretary that it was so signed than if it had been signed in the absence of the Council. Had it corresponded with the Order it had been immaterial where or in whose presence or with whose privy it was signed. But I humbly conceive as the Council are as necessary Agents as the Gov^r. in the Grant of the Crown Lands, and as it appears that they had in Conjunction with the Governor by a solemn Determination restricted the petitioners to the County of Ulster, nothing less will do to remove all suspicion of Fraud than clear proof of a Revision & Renewal of that determination which our Opponents have not produced.

^a See No. 7 B. Ante p. 158.

¹ Six lines are erased in the original manuscript at this point the argument being developed in the following text.

There is perhaps my Lord, further reason to suspect unfair Dealing towards the Crown in this Instance. My Lord^a Cornbury was well known both in Britain & America as a Gentleman remarkably unattentive to Business and therefore very liable to be deceived. Hardenbergh was the only man whose name appeared as a petitioner. But there were persons of more weight behind the Curtain who were to be benefited by the Grant. When the Warrant had issued Mr. [May] Bickley the Attorney General appeared as a patentee, and Mr. [Thomas] Wenham was more occultly personated by Mr. Robert Lurting who tho' inserted as a patentee lent his name to Mr. Wenham, for it appears from the Records of the Secretary's Office that the deed was executed by him to Mr. Wenham for 1/7th of the Tract, it bears the date 12th January 1708, is for

Call for the Record a trifling Consideration and shews that the and read it. Grant was a Trust for Mr. Wenham. Nor is it If opposed observe it is for the Benefit of the Crown. I humbly conceive my Lord unworthy of Remark that Mr. Wenham was so attentive to

his Object that he was not absent one Council day in which this important Business came on the Tapis, and that particularly on the day in which the Warr^t. was signed in Council he was one of four of the Council present As therefore my Lord this Honorable Board when employed on the Subject of granting away the Crown Lands is always considered as a Court of Requests, as Mr. Wenham appears upon our opponents use of the signing of the Warrant of Council to have sat as one of the Judges of this Court of Requests in his own Cause, which is contrary to all Reason & Law & extreemly dangerous to his Majesty's Right (for otherwise it cannot be when one of the Guardians of his Majesty's Land stock becomes a Suitor before himself for a part of that stock) I say my Lord as all those things appear I humbly conceive that the Warrant in Question cannot cure the radical Defects of the patent. And I would further beg leave to suggest it as a Subject of Enquiry to your Lord & the Honorable Board whether five members besides the Gov^r. have not always been as they now are necessary to form a Quorum for Business, and if so as it appears that as well at the Meeting in which the Warrant was ordered for the Lands in the County of Ulster only as at that in which the Warrant was signed on which our Opponents so much rely one of the four Councillors present was a party the whole Basis of the patent does not fail, and if so we must submit it to your Lordship & this Board to determine what becomes of the patent itself.

Having thus shewn my Lord that the patent is void there can be no controversy between us but if your Lordship & the

^a Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York 1702-1708.

Honorable Board should be of a different Opinion which we flatter ourselves cannot be the Case, yet from the very suspicious circumstances which attended the issuing of Hardenbergh's patent I conclude that the greatest favor the proprietors of that patent can expect in this Controversy is a rigid Construction of its Bounds—I proceeded—

Under this Head to observe that your Lordship and the Honorable Board were Trustees of the Crown's Land Stock and the revenues either actual or contingent thence to arise and that in this View I made not the least doubt that to every Grant the Bounds of which come into Question here the Rules of Law would be applied as the proper Test; That the Law clearly is, that Grants of the Crown obtained on a suggestion of the party shall be construed strictly ag^t. the Grantee & most favorably for the Crown; That in this Case the Rule is the Reverse to that which prevails in the Construction of Grants between Subject & Subject—for in the Latter recitals may operate ag^t. but never can make for the Grantor because they are his own Words, But that in Grants of the Crown suggestions of the Grantee tho' adopted by the Crown in its Grant, can never make ag^t. the Crown but may & if the Matter of them is ag^t. the Grantee will operate ag^t. him; That whenever the Grant of the Crown issues on the suggestion & petition of the party, he is held to suggest at his peril because the Attention of the Crown being engaged on the *Arduis Regni*⁹ the Law has not only discharged the Crown from any Guards ag^t. false suggestions in fact but has made it a Rule that wherever a Grant is made on petition & suggestion of the party it shall be construed strictly in favor of the Crown; That therefore in every such Grant where the Construction is doubtful or in other Words where two constructions may be put that which is most in favor of the Crown shall be received; that tho' it is a general Rule that Grants which express themselves as issuing of the special Grace certain Knowledge and meer Motion of the Crown shall for the King's Honor be construed most liberally in favor of the Grantee, yet those words become a dead Letter when the Grant is founded on the prayer and suggestion of the party and that for this most evident Reason that those Words being expressive of the King's spontaneous & selfmoved Exuberance of favor are expressly contradicted & their Operation utterly annihilated by the Express Suit and Suggestion of the party as the moving Cause of the Grant which Observations were, it was urged, so clearly & indubitably supported by Law, that it would have been an impassable Affront to offer to your Lordship & this Hon^{ble}. Board, under whose imme-

⁹ Concerns of government.

diate Care & direction the royal Land Stock is placed, a single Authority in their Support.

This patent my Lord usually called by the Name of the Great Patent pays but £3 annual Quit rent. Supposing therefore that it were not void yet the Attempts of the propr^s. to extend it beyond its real Bounds is a most manifest Attack upon his Majesty's Revenue—For if it should be construed rigidly yet by its Terms it is made to contain so much more Land than was really intended to be granted them in consequence of their 2^d. petition that the Crown has lost an immense part of its Revenue, which had not been the Case had those Lands been patented at the rate of Quit Rents established a few Years after, which might probably have long since been the Case had those Lands been vacant. This Loss added to the Loss [to] the public arising from the hitherto unpeopled State of [so] large a Tract as the whole patent, ought as we humbly Conceive to induce the Gov^t. to look with a Jealousy [sic] eye on the late Attempt to give it an amazing Extent beyond what the Words of the patent can properly warrant.

[Proper Construction of the Hardenbergh patent.] Having thus my Lord cleared the way for a proper Construction of the Bounds of the patent we proceeded to shew how many Constructions this

Grant was capable of from its own Words independent of any Evidence from without. We shewed that it was capable of four different Constructions, ground[ed] on these words of the Boundaries to wit "So running along that Line that is the Line of witness's patent Northwestly as the said Line Runs to the Fish Kill or River and so to the head thereof including the same, thence on a direct Line to the Head of a small River commonly known by the name of Cartwright's Kill" That upon these Words it appears that the Fish Kill or River is the Stream the head of which is the Boundary according to the Words of the patent. The Question is—

(1.) Shall that be Esteemed the Head of the Fish Kill or River where the Stream loses that Name, that is at the point of Conflux of the East or Popaghtonk Branch & West or Cookhouse or Mohawk Branch which Construction would be most in favor of the Crown or

(2.) As the Popaghtonk or East Branch divides itself into two Branches shall the Head of the Southermost of those two Branches which would furnish the next best Construction in favor of the Crown be the Boundary or

(3.) Shall the Head of the Northermost of those two Branches which would be more ag^t. the Crown be the Boundary,

Either of which three constructions will Leave the Lands in controversy vacant or

(4.) Shall the Head of the Mohawk or Cook-house Branch, which will furnish the Construction the most ag^t. the Crown of any that can possibly be & include the Lands in Controversy be the Boundary?

I insisted my Lord that as this Grant is to be construed most strictly ag^t. the grantees & most in favor of the Crown, the first of the above four Constructions ought to take place because it would take least from the Crown. To shew that this Construction was not only possible but natural I observed that in the Grant the Fish Kill which is the Stream Below the forks of Shewakin or the place of Union of the Mohawk & Popaghtonk Branches, is the River the head of which is in the Grant declared to be the Boundary by the Words "*and so to the head thereof.*" That therefore the Question arises to wit which is the Head of the Fish Kill or River, the answer to which I conceived was that the forks of Shewakin or the place of Union of the Mohawk & Popaghtonk was the head of the Fish Kill or River. My Reasons my Lord were these

(1.) That there the Fish Kill or river Ends because it there loses its Name.

(2.) That if the Sources of Branches or smaller streams may be called Heads of the River because they empty themselves into it, the Fish Kill has a variety of other Heads as the Source of the Lochawapin & many others on the West Side, & those of the Massacomeck [?] & many others on the East Side; That both the East & West Branches have their respective peculiar & appropriate names and that in Geographical Descriptions a River is never made to extend farther than it carries its name; That there is as manifest a Distinction between a River and its Branches as there is between a Tree & its Branches, and that as the head of the Tree is properly the head of the Trunk or place where the Branches insert themselves so is the Head of the River the place where the Branches insert themselves and that the Mohawk & Popaghtonk are confessedly and evidently Branches only and the Fish Kill or River with respect to them is the main Body or Trunk.

(3.) That this Construction will not only give least Land to the Grantees but will also be attended with less doubt; for that if by the words *Head of the River* should be understood its source or that fountain by which its Stream is fed through a Branch flowing into it there are a variety of such heads. In this sense the source, spring or fountain of all the smaller streams having their proper Names & feeding the main Stream are equally heads of Fish Kill or River; That more especially as the Fish Kill or River divides itself into two Branches at the forks of Shewakin to wit the Mohawk or Cook-house & the

Popaghtonk, the Sources of the two Streams are equally the Heads of the River; that the Popaghtonk is known to Divide itself into three Branches two main Streams & a smaller one [and] therefore in the Sense of our Opponents has three heads which according to their Reasoning are all heads of the Fish Kill or River; that the Cookhouse or Mohawk Branch may have as many or more the Country having not been sufficiently explored to determine that fact; That should the Case be otherwise our Opponents have furnished us with at least three heads of the River, which makes it necessary to confine the Boundary to the Forks of Shewakin to remove Doubts & prevent the Grant from being void. For as on the one hand if the doubt can be removed it must be construed as I have shewn most in favor of the Crown, so on the other if the doubt remains unsoluble the Grant must be null & void.

But if the Construction which would confine them to the forks at Shewakin be rejected I insisted that nothing could justify their extending up to the Head of the Mohawk Branch—It is more than probable that in that early day when the patent was granted it was uncertain where the Head of the Fish Kill was in their Sense of the Word. The Grant therefore must have intended according to their Construction to give the Head of the Fish Kill wherever it might be as the Boundary. But in their sense of the Word the Fish Kill has several Heads and which to Chuse is the difficulty. That which gives most land I have clearly shown ought not to be adopted because it would be contrary to the clearest & most uncontrovertible Rules of Law, but on the contrary that and only that which gives Least to the Grantees must be received or all the Laws relating to Crown Grants must be rejected, and therefore if they should be permitted to extend Beyond the forks of Shewakin they must still be confined to that head of the Fish Kill which will give them the least Land, which as I observed before must be the Head of the South Branch of the Popaghtonk. But my Lord if the Several Branches had then been explored to their respective Sources the Question still remains, which was the Head in the Sense of the Crown. The Answer I humbly conceive is, that head which will injure the Crown least and this too seems to be the most natural Construction from a View of the Maps because that head is the nearest to the Head of Cartwrights Kill & is so situated that a line extending from the one to the other nearly coincides with the Main Course of the Popaghtonk.

But I further observed that should your Lordship and the Honorable Board be inclined to relax the Rules of Law in meer indulgence to our Opponents it would not rid them of their difficulties. That this indulgence could not be

extended so far as to assign to them the Head of the Mohawk Branch as their Boundary, meerly because that will give them more Lands; That such an Indulgence could not with any Colour of Reason be expected from the Guardians of the Rights of the Crown; That the East Branch followed to its Source formed the Head of the River as much as the West Branch; That it would be absurd to distinguish that which was the most remote as the Head of the Fish Kill because that in their own Sense of the Word every Source of a river is its head be it more or less remote; That the words of the Grant are not to the most remote head but to the Head thereof, & That the East Branch if it be measured in its meanders is at least as long as the West Branch, And finally that should the River be deemed to head either at the forks at Shehawkin [*sic*] or at the Head of the South Branch of Popaghtonk, or even at the Head of its North Branch the Lands in Controversy will still remain vacant.

I would beg Leave my Lord to add one thought more that has lately occurred to me. Where a Tract of Land is described as adjoining to a River as the Hardenbergh Tract evidently is, I believe even in a Grant from subject to subject it would be thought a very strange & unnatural Construction to extend it across one of its main Branches & yet such is the Construction [Grant to William set up against us in the present Case. Should Penn cited.] Wm. Penn or any of his descendants have put such a Construction on his Grant as to have extended it across the Mohawk & up to the Popaghtonk Branch, it would be thought by all the World to be an absurd Extension, and yet that Grant ought to be construed with the utmost Liberty as it issued not only as it is expressed of the Crowns special Grace, certain Knowledge & meer motion but expressly out of Regard to Memory & Merits of his late Father in divers Services & more particularly in Consideration of his Courage, Conduct & discretion under the Duke of York in that signal Battle & Victory fought & obtained ag^t. the Dutch fleet commanded by the Heer Van Opdam in the Year 1665¹⁰

In short my Lord if We consider the Words of the Grant [Interests of Crown without any Aid from without, which I humbly to be guarded.] contend must ever be the rule when they are capable of their own Exposition as the Words of the Grant in Question undoubtedly are; if we Consider what Construction of them Reason would naturally dictate & if finally we apply the Rules of Law to them which demand such a Construction as is most for the Interest of the Crown, and cannot as I humbly conceive be dispensed with, all these conspire to prevent the Hardenbergh Tract from including the Lands between the

¹⁰ Battle of Lowestoft June 3, 1665.

Popaghtonk & Mohawk branches & consequently leave Room for extending the Bounty of the Crown to Col. Bradstreet.

We might indeed my Lord have relied on the Objections arising from the Manner in which the Grant in Question was obtained & upon the Words of the Grant itself construed in a rational Sense & in Conformity to the known Rules of Law as amply sufficient to insure us a Victory. But in a Case of so much moment it [we?] thought it prudent to supererogate by adding some Collateral proof to fortify our Reasoning on the Subject.

The Gentlemen in Support of The Patent observed that there were no recitals in it but of the petition on which it was grounded—That an Indian purchase is not necessary to make a Title at Law & that it is in no Case admissible as Evidence but to clear up doubts about Boundaries—I agree with the Gentlemen that by the Laws of England the Crown is the fountain of all Titles as well to Estates as to Honors & Offices; but I believe no Man of understanding ever meant to assert that this prerogative of the Crown was ever carried in the Ideas of Government to such a Length as to divest the aborigines of their natural Rights. The Government cannot be ignorant

[Indian rights in that King Charles the Second issued his royal the premises.] proclamation whereby he asserted those Rights and forbade the Grant or Occupation of any Lands without an Indian purchase. Nay the very Idea aimed to be established by the Gentⁿ. who oppose us is that the Six Nations & the Mohicanders or River Indians have rendered themselves subjects to the Crown of Great Britain, which implies their protection in their person & Estate.—And upon a principle of protection has the Gov^t. always acted towards them by making an Indian purchase necessary previous to the Grant of a patent. However true therefore it is that in a Court of Law an Indian purchase is not a necessary Link of Title it is as true that before this Honorable Board it ought to be considered as the first Link and if the Bounds of a patent come into Question here, as our Opponents admit that in a Court of Law an Indian deed will serve to Explain Boundaries surely this Honorable Board will conceive that the apparent disparity between the Bounds of the Indian purchase made by License of Gov^t. & the patent grounded on it furnishes the strongest Reason for construing the patent rigidly.

But my Lord it is not only clear that the Indian purchase on which the proprietors of Hardenberghs patent founded their patent does not include any Lands in the County of Albany nor across the East Branch of the Fish Kill, [but] We shewed from the most irrefragable Testimony that the proprietors of that patent never till of late Years conceived that it included any Lands between the East & West Branches.

For this purpose we produced sundry pieces of Evidence.¹¹ The first was a Treaty held with the Esopus Indians in whom the property of the Lands now in Controversy are pretended to have been vested. The preliminary measure to this Treaty was as we shewed an Order of certain Justices at Kingston suggesting that Major Hardenbergh had complained that the Indians hindered the Running of the Outlines of the patent & appointing a day for the Treaty. At which day which was the 27th. Aug^t. 1743 the Treaty was accordingly held & among other Indians Sander their Chief Sachem & Hendrick Hegan were present. This Hendrick several of our Opponents say lived on the West side of the Popaghtonk Branch where he had an orchard. The very Cause of the Treaty appears to have been Hardenberghs Intention to run the out Lines of his patent; The Business was so opened to the Indians by Hardenbergh himself. He shews his Intention to have been to make a Survey of more Lands than he had ever purchased of the Indians, for he expressly informed them that he desired to run the out Lines of his patent to find out the true Owners of the Land and that after it was measured he would not take any Land without first agreeing with & paying the particular owner of each Tract.

Is it possible My Lord for a Man to have been more explicit than Hardenbergh was, or can any Thing be clearer than his design to run out the Boundaries of his patent in the full Extent of his Claim? And what such extent was is as evident from the answer given to him by the Indians. It was that he should have Liberty to Survey round the patent and up the River Papakonk [Popaghtonk?] and also to divide the Land, but not to Claim any Right to the Soil before a purchase of them; Had he then Intended to make the west Branch his Boundary he would have desired Leave to run up that Branch, he would have so expressed himself, And to this there could have been no Objection but the true one, a Want of property in the Esopus Indians, because he expressly disavowed a Claim of property to any of the Lands before a purchase & the Indians as expressly stipulated ag^t. such Claim until a purchase— Thus then my Lord it appears that Hardenbergh in a solemn Transaction extant of Record asserted the Popaghtonk or East Branch as his Boundary.

[Survey of Henry Worster 1743.] This Treaty¹² was in Consequence of a Survey that had been attempted by Henry Worster a few days before [the treaty of Aug. 27, 1743] who from the

¹¹ Fifteen lines of the original text have been erased at this point. The same argument being developed in the following lines the erasures are omitted.

¹² Four lines of original text erased have been omitted at this point the argument being developed in the following lines.

Testimony of Peter P. Low was the person employed for the purpose, and in this Attempt the Indians took away his Chain when he had got up the River as far as within abt. 5 Miles of Papakonk [Popaghtonk] Village. Which chain the Witness declared he purchased from the Indians by Worster's directions. From the Testimony of this Witness therefore it appears clearly that in the first Attempt to make a Survey of the patent Worster ran up the East or Popaghtonk Branch. In Consequence of the Ill success of this Attempt the treaty was held at Kingston expressly grounded on a Complaint of Hardenbergh that the Indians had hindered the Surveyor appointed by the Prop^{rs}. of the patent from running the Outlines of the Tract. Thence it is evident that Hardenbergh esteemed the East Branch to be the outline of the patent, & in effect so asserted in his Complaint on which the Treaty was grounded, and it was accordingly expressly stipulated by that Treaty that the outlines should be run & that the Indians should permit him to run up the Popaghtonk or East Branch. The work was accordingly performed a few days after by Worster; for [as] the same Witness Peter P. Low deposed—Worster informed him that the Indians had been invited to the Treaty at Esopus, That in a few days after Worster returned from Esopus & informed him that they had agreed with the Indians & that there would be no Danger in proceeding with the Survey, hired the Deponent as an Interpreter at 6 / per day & proceeded with him to the Papakonk [Popaghtonk] Village, That Worster left him there & went down the River abt 5 Miles to the place where the Indians had stopped him & surveyed the out Line to Papakonk from thence to papataghan [Pakatakan?] & from thence to the head of the River & having there marked 2 or 3 Trees they crossed over to the Head of Catrux Kill where Major Hardenbergh was waiting for them. What clearer proof there can be that the East Branch was then agreed to be the out Line of the patent is difficult my Lord to conceive.

[Other surveys in 1745.] It appears from the Evidence that in the

Year 1745 another Survey was made by Ebenezer Worster at which Time they stole the Opportunity of running across from the East to the West Branch but conscious that it was inconsistent with the Right of the patentees & the Sense of all the parties to the Indian Treaty they never attempted to survey down the West Branch & accordingly have not laid down that Branch in the Map which they gave in Evidence. After this Survey in which the Course of the Popaghtonk was run as the out Line of the patent, another Survey was made in 1745 by Order of the prop^{rs}. at which Tho^s. Nottingham was present. In this Survey which was performed by Ebenezer Worster they exactly followed the

grow if the proprs. are permitted to explain their Bounds by Indian deeds taken near fifty years after their dates, Your Lordship & this Honorable Board will readily conceive. In proportion as Lands rise in Value such Deeds which can always be procured at the Expense of a few Gallons of Spirits will multiply & descendants from the first patentees will by such means be able to reap at the Expense & to the prejudice of the Crown what their forefathers never sowed.

But there is indeed a most cogent Reason why if that Indian deed is to receive any Notice it ought to operate so strongly agt. our Opponents as to give us the full enjoyment of all We expect. Your Lordship & every Member of this Honorable Board must perfectly remember that the Instrument ushered in as the Indian Deed contained Many sheets of paper, that I requested the Whole should be read, that my request was answered by a Declaration from the Mouth of one of the Counsel for our Opponents that I should have the Sight of the Instrument & make what Use of it I thought proper. I accordingly applied for it, my Application was indeed backed with the respectable Weight of Government, But what did all this avail? Neither the Justice of the Request nor the positive promise of our Opponents nor even the Authority of Gov^t. has been sufficient to command its production. On the contrary a single sheet of paper has been lodged in the Hands of Mr. Deputy Secretary instead of that voluminous Instrum^t. & of which I have not asked a Sight, because it was not the paper given in Evidence. But why permit me to ask it my Lord, why this strange & unprecedented Concealmt? Is it not a maxim that the whole Contents of every written Evidence shall be read if required? Why do our Courts of Justice daily determine that where a Deed is proved by a party to be in the Hands of his Opponent the strongest Argument is furnished ag^t. him by its non production? Is not the Reason evidently this my Lord that he would produce it did not the whole Instrum^t. taken together strongly operate agt. him. Concealed Weapons not only beget Jealousy but are productive of Danger, and he who wears them is strongly to be suspected of a Design to make a most improper use of them. I flatter myself therefore as I appeal to the Honor & Dignity of Gov^t. that this concealed Instrument will not only be taken from our Opponents; I trust that its point will by the Hand of the Gov^t. be turned agt. them and that were there no other Reason for it, your Lordship & this Honble Board to do us full Justice & discountenance so dangerous a proceeding will favor us with a Grant of the prayer of our petition, which I would only hint my Lord may be done consistent with the strictest Justice as a Grant to Us cannot divest our Opponents of a single Iota of their Right.

Branch is the Tree but when a Distinction between the Tree & its Branches is taken up the Construction is vastly different. In our Case the Fish Kill was evidently considered as the Main Branch of Delaware River & the Popaghtonk Branch was as evidently a Continuation of that Main Branch in the Sense of our Opponents—

If my Lord we weigh the Testimony of Jacobus Bruyn in the Scale of Evidence it will like Beltshasar tried in a more awful Balance be found wanting. In short it is much of the kind with that administered by Sir Henry Moore's Commission to Mr. Metcalf for it proves no more for our Opponents than that Mr. Bruyn was surveying Lands many years ago, on the West Side of the West Branch & that in pursuing his Survey Downward he struck upon a Branch (doubtless the West Branch) which he concluded to be Delaware River because (& for a very good Reason too) the Fish of passage came a great Way up that stream. But this certainly proves no more than that the West Branch was one of the Waters of Delaware as it unquestionably is, and so as undoubtedly is the East-Branch and therefore from this Reason only without mentioning more, may as properly as the other be called the Delaware River. When such a monstrous Fabric is built upon so slender a Basis it may well be said—*Debile fundamentum fallit opus.*

But my Lord we have other Evidence administered by our Opponents still more curious than this—Nothing less in Truth than their own deeds of partition by which it appears that they had divided the Lands between the Two Branches among them—I have often heard that a Mans own Words and Actions were the highest possible evidence agt. him; but it is to me a doctrine entirely new & adjusted to the Latitude of this patent only that a division of Lands between a Number of persons should be evidence of their Right to them, Nay what is more Absurd that such Division should so operate even agt. their own most solemn Acts. I hope this Doctrine will not become fashionable. Should it grow into general Taste there would be an End to all further Grants of the Crown Lands for what Company of Land Jobbers would submit to the Expense of patent fees and the never ending Quit Rent of $\frac{2}{6}$ Sterling per hundred Acres, to procure a Title to the Lands of the Crown adjoining to their property when a common Scrivner at the Trifling Expense of five pounds could by the Manoeuvres of the pen vest them in full propriety with all the neighboring Territory. Besides what horrible Confusion of private property would ensue upon this principle; partition agt. partition would confound all the Bounds of Right and be the Source of endless Litigation profitable to be sure to the Men of our profession

[Deeds of Partition among Claimants under Har-denbergh Patent.]

but never to be wished for by those of us who are Friends to justice, order, decency & regularity in civil Life. I cannot therefore my Lord but admire at the Attempt of our Opponents to avail themselves of a piece of Evidence so dangerous in precedent, in itself as light as Air & relied upon agt. their own solemn Acts as a proof of the Extent of their patent to the West Branch of the Fish Kill.

But my Lord my surprise is increased when I find this piece of Evidence attended with an Act of their Surveyor & Servant. It is his Map of the patent which on its face carries the strongest Evidences agt. them. How strangely inconsistent is our Conduct when the Love of property is our principle of Action. Sanguine in our pursuits, everything carries with it demonstration in our favor. Utterly blind to the apparent Inconsistencies of Evidence we fancy a beautiful Harmony, a rational Consistency & Co-operation reigns through all the parts of our proof. These unnaturally blended together by the Heat of passion form to our View an engaging picture while to others less prejudiced the piece appears grotesque indeed and truly verifies the observations of the elegant Roman poet—*Spectatum admissi risum teneatis Amici*.

[Map of 1749.] This Map exhibits to your Lordship the following Matters of fact. On the face of it we see no delineation of the West Branch of the Fish Kill & the Lines of division of the Lands lying to the Eastward of the East Branch tho' continued across it towards the West Branch remain unfinished and are not butted by any Object. This *res infecta* which however proves no more than a design of the parties to appropriate to themselves were it possible the Lands between the two Branches appears to be a compleat Actual Survey & Allotment of the Lands on the East Side of the *East* Branch. This Map is dated Novr. 8th. 1749 41 Years after the date of the patent & before the Settlemt. & improvemt. of any part of it. It speaks of itself as made at the Request of Mr. Robert Livingston & Gulian Verplan [c] k & Company and as being a survey and division of the Tract of Land called Hardenbergh's or the Great patent. It imports that the actual Survey was began on the 7th April 1749 & finished the 8th of Novr. following which is the day of its date. The Surveyor annexed to it a field Book containing a description of the Lands & form of the Mountains & of the Monuments & remarkable places near which they are placed but all this appears to relate only to the Lands on the East Side of the East Branch. What evidence then can this Map furnish for our Opponents but that it is an actual survey of those Lands & [an] unfinished attempt to appropriate by a random allotment the Lands between the two branches, Nay there is not

the least syllable inscribed on it to shew that it was intended as an actual Allotment of the Lands between the two Branches. On the contrary the whole description in the field Book relates entirely to the Lands on the East Side of the East Branch, For when the Surveyor after having described his several Courses & Monuments from the Bounds of Minisink patent on the Fish Kill or Main branch of Delaware River many miles below the forks of ¹⁴Shehawkin proceeds to ascertain the 4th Monument he describes it thus "At the End of those Courses we placed the 4th Monument on a piece of low land full of Timber, a heap of Stones with a flat Stone standing on the Top marked No. 4 by a Butternut Tree marked with a Cross & No. 4 & four Notches." This Monument stands abt. 2 Chains from the River & 18 Chains to the Southward of the [Popaghtonk] or Branch or Crook of the River. Here it seems the Surveyor did not even dream of the West Branch as having any relation to his Survey but calls the Popaghtonk or East Branch simply *the* Branch or Crook of the River. He then proceeds and describes the 5th Monument to be at little distance up the paghtakan [sic] Branch, the sixth further up the said Branch the seventh at Popatonck Indian Village on the East Side which together with their Indian Treaty in 1743 & their two Indian Deeds in 1746 shews that Popakonk was not on the West Side of the Popaghtonk Branch as they have attempted to make appear in Evidence. The surveyor then proceeds to describe his Courses and Monuments up to the Head of the North Branch of the Popaghkonk & when he comes to the 12th Monument at Paghatakan Village he takes Notice of a large River coming from the East which is the River Tweed the Head of which is doubtless the true Boundary intended by the patent should it be tho't proper to admit of an Extension beyond the forks at Shehawkin.

The 17th & last Monument on the East Side of the Popaghtonk he described thus "At the End of all those Courses We came to the head of Paghatakan Branch where we made the 17th Monument *At the old Corner bounds made by Henry Worster.*" Which old Corner Bounds Ebenezer Worster says is a Spruce-pine Tree that had been made by Henry Worster marked with No. 3 & a cross & several other Spruce Trees marked standing by, Where says Ebenezer Worster We made a large Monument of Stone & marked a Flat one on the Top with No. 17 and a cross & 17 Notches. This Monument stands by a Swampside towards the upper End of the Swamp. The Swamp is about 4 Chains wide & near two miles long & is between two high mountains. Against the upper end of the mountains the monumt. stands. Thus it appears that Ebenezer

¹⁴ Earlier in the Manuscript this river is called the Shewakin. Ante p. 164.

Worster the very person employed in the final Survey & in the Allotment of the Tract in order to a partition well knew and performed his Work under a Sense that the Popaghtonk Branch was the true Boundary of the patent, for what my Lord could he in any other View possibly mean by calling the placing where he fixed his 17th Monument the *old Corner Bounds of Henry Worster*, which evidently was the Corner Bounds made by him when Peter P. Low in the year 1743 attended him in his Survey up to the Popaghtonk to its head where Ebenezer Worster's 17th Monument is fixed and from thence across to the Head of Carrix Kill. It is notorious that Henry Worster never attempted in his survey to make an Allotment in order to a decision of the Tract. He did no more than run two of the Outlines of the patent in Exact conformity with the Indian Treaty. In doing this he made his old Corner Bounds at the North head of the Popaghtonk which was Numbered 3 the first probably being at the Bounds of Minisink patent and the second at the Forks of Shewakin. And thus does this very Map of Ebenezer Worster which was made the foundation for a random division of the Lands between the two Branches appear clearly to correspond with the most natural Construction of the Words of the patent and the Sense of the original patentees discovered in Hardenbergh's Complaint to the Justice of Kingston ag^t. the Indians for obstructing them in their Survey of the outlines of their patent in his Request of a permission from the Indians to run those outlines, their stipulation at the Treaty to permit him to run up the Popaghtonk as one of those uplines, the running of it by Worster in Consequence of that Treaty, & in the two Indian deeds to Hardenbergh & Company obtained after that Treaty. In Short my Lord, Ebenezer Worster's Map mentions not a syllable either of the West Branch or the Lands between the two Branches, & contains no Delineation of those Lands or of the West Branch. It appears to be properly & only a Survey of the Lands lying on the East side of the Popaghtonk. Of which [survey] the present proprietors have availed themselves by an Extension of the Lines of Allotment of those Lands so as to make a random Division of the Lands between the two Branches, on a supposed right which they never avowed but by their deed of partition executed between them above 40 years after the date of the patent & contrary to the their own prior & solemn declared sense in their Complaints, Treaties, Indian deeds & Surveys.

Had the Evidence been closed here on the former Hearing the Ballance would have stood Thus; On our Side the natural Construct[ion] of the patent itself, supported by solemn Action of the parties, a public Treaty with the Indians in the presence of a general meeting of the Magistrates, two Indian purchases

clearly explanatory of Our Opponents Sense of the Bounds & repeated Surveys, all corresponding with those other pieces of Evidence; On their side only one insidious attempt by Ebenezer Worster in his last survey to make a survey down the West Branch, & a random partition of the Lands between the two Branches made without actual Survey & at the distance of upwards of 40 years after their patent issued. Which way upon this state of Evidence, the Ballance would preponderate they clearly saw. To cast therefore a little more Weight on their side of the scale they were prepared in the sundry Affidavits wearing the most suspicious Marks of Fraud which need not now be enumerated as their untoward appearance occasioned their total rejection, and this rejection the Opportunity of examining Witnesses *ore tenus* at this day on a single point of fact. But my Lord before I proceed to weigh this part of the Evidence I beg leave to observe (1) that if the persons¹⁵ whose names were subscribed to those Affidavits really did swear to them, their Testimony even had it now come up to what they before swore would be much lessened in point of Credit because a regard to their Reputation would in some Measure oblige them to observe a consistency.

2dly That their Testimony depending on their Memories ought not to have equal Credit with the clear written Testimony on our part, especially as

3dly Their Testimony to have full Weight ought to go back to the Date of the patent which is upwards of 60 years old & this is absolutely impossible &

4thly because what they swear to can only be Matter of Information of a much later date furnished to them by Indians, whose Integrity is too weak to resist a Bribe, and we have proof that the Proprs. of the patent in Question have had it in Contemplation for many years past agt. their own most public, solemn & repeated [acts], to claim the Lands between the two forks which could only be performed by giving the name of the Fish Kill or Main Branch of Delaware River to the Mohawk Branch.

Under the influence of those observations I proceed as summarily as is possible to remark on the oral Testimony of this day¹⁶.

[Summary of argument for Col. Bradstreet.] The Sum of this important controversy my Lord we take to be this. On our part we have been at the Expense of an Indian purchase regularly made of one of the Six Nations, whose property

¹⁵ The names of Peter Kuydendal and Jacob Westfall are given in the margin at this point and appear to be the names of the witnesses testifying.

¹⁶ A page of the manuscript is left vacant at this point to call the attention of the attorney to the oral testimony which may be submitted. He then summarises his argument for Bradstreet.

we say the Lands in Controversy originally were. Our opponents claim a Right to them solely by patent & Indian purchases made near forty years after their patent, While it has been the invariable practice of the Govt. to make an Indian purchase precede a patent. We found the propriety of our Indian purchase upon a clear admission by deed of the Indians of whom they purchased, that the lands between the two Branches Belonged to the Mohawks, (2) On the known History of the Country, & on public Treaties all which shew clearly that the victorious Confederate Nations with the Mohawks at their Head have gained all the original property of the River Indians by Right of Conquest & that it was customary for the Conquerors to permit the Conquered to remain their Tenants at will but especially denied them the privilege of Sale. On their part they have only shewn that the Indians or some of them of whom they purchased had merely a Residence on the Lands in Controversy and this Residence is not only consistent with the Supposition of the Right of Property in other Conquerors but can furnish no Argument that is not utterly annihilated by the express allowance in their deed of the Right of the Mohawks notwithstanding their Sale. And even were the two Indian Rights doubtful we have the Countenance of Govt. in a purchase regularly made by us at a great Expense to entitle to a preference.

Again tho' our Opponents ground their Claim of present Title solely on their patent we have shewn that this patent in the manner in which it was obtained was so irregular & unauthorized if not fraudulent as to be null & void, or at least to be justly subject from its Suspicious Circumstances to the most rigid Construction. That were it otherwise circumstanced our Construction of the Words of the patent would be confirmed by the Clearest Rules of Law which manifestly require that every patent granted upon the suggestion & petition of the party shall be construed most favorably for the Crown, that the Fish Kill is the Main Branch of the River below the forks of Shewakin, that at this place it divides itself into two Branches the West Commonly called the Mohawk or Cookhouse Sepoos, and Machach Sepoos, the East the Papataghan or Popaghtonk Sepoos. That therefore the Head of the Fishkill is properly at the forks of Shewakin which Construction is most favorable to the Crown. That should a less favorable Construction be adopted, the Fishkill will then appear to have several heads, that the East Branch consists of a union of three large Streams the North Branch, the River Tweed & the Beaver Kill, that tho its most distant Source is not quite so northerly as that of the West Branch yet not only from our Testimony but also from that of Mr Cockburn whom our Opponents sent up to

make the Experiment the East Branch is larger swifter & discharges more water into the Main Body. That the Words of the patent "to the Head thereof" does not say which Head & it has several, if the forks at Shehawkin is not the proper Head. That therefore the most favorable construction for the Crown if we are to quit those forks will be furnished by the Head of the Tweed, that even should not the Crown be so favored yet the most northerly source of the East Branch, which Leaves all the Lands in Controversy vacant ought undoubtedly to be the Boundary. That this last Construction falls in with the clearest Weight of Evidence from without, & besides other proof, with their Indian Treaty their two Indian Deeds, their repeated Surveys and particularly their Map of the last Survey, & with their full & declared Sense & Construction for at least forty years after the date of their patent.

To stem all this Torrent of Evidence they have opposed nothing more than one attempt by Ebenezer Worster in his last survey to make a stolen survey of the West Branch contrary to the parts of the Treaty entered into with the Indians in presence of a large Assembly of Magistrates; their random partition after all those Transactions, which in itself is not Evidence, & finally the parol, [i. e., verbal] Testimony of some Witnesses speaking from their Memory about facts gained only on Hearsay & of much later date than the patent and probably gained entirely either directly or indirectly from Indians whose words are of little Weight & who may have been, as they all on any occasion may be, bribed to propagate forged names of places to Suit the Designs of a party; and finally as this loose [loose] hearsay & uncertain Evidence stands opposed to the natural face of the Country, the Testimony of other Witnesses, the Words of the patent in the legal Construction, and a train of solemn public & notorious facts furnished by our Opponents & most of them standing on Record as a lasting Memorial of their Truth we flatter ourselves that the Ballance of evidence is clearly in our favor & if so, as the most liberal Construction that can be given to the patent in Question will confine our Opponents to the northern most head of the Popaghtonk Branch in which Case the Lands in Controversy must be vacant, We humbly pray that we may be favored with his Majesty's Letters patent for them upon the usual Terms & Conditions.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 21, 1908, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr.
WALDO LINCOLN.

There were present:—

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green,
Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell,
Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton,
Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green,
Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam,
William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes,
Edward H. Thompson, A. George Bullock, William E.
Foster, Francis H. Dewey, Carroll D. Wright, Henry A.
Marsh, John Green, William T. Forbes, Leonard P. Kinnicutt,
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln,
George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch,
Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, E. Harlow Russell,
Benjamin T. Hill, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William
MacDonald, Alexander H. Vinton, Clarence W. Bowen,
Deloraine P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt,
Franklin P. Rice, Caleb B. Tillinghast, Herbert Putnam,
William C. Lane, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn,
Samuel B. Woodward.

The President called attention to the plans of the proposed new building which were exposed upon the cabinets, and then requested the Recording Secretary to read the call of the meeting. The reading of the records of the last meeting was, on motion, dispensed with.

The Report of the Council was then read by Judge UTLEY. Following this, the printed Treasurer's Report was distributed among the members present and the Report was read by Mr. BULLOCK, the Treasurer. Mr. BARTON read the Librarian's Report. The three Reports were, on motion, referred to the Committee of Publication.

A list of persons proposed by the Council for membership was then submitted to the Society and Dr. Nichols, Professor MacDonald and Mr. Colton were appointed as tellers in the election of members.

The following gentlemen were then elected as members of the Society:

James Bourne Ayer, M.D., Boston, Mass.
George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., Worcester, Mass.
Ralph Charles Henry Catterall, Ph.D., Ithaca, N. Y.
Clyde Augustus Duniway, Ph.D., Missoula, Mont.
William Curtis Farabee, Ph.D., Cambridge, Mass.
Max Farrand, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.
Frederick Webb Hodge, Washington, D. C.
William Vail Kellen, LL.D., Boston, Mass.
Alfred L. Kroeber, Ph.D., San Francisco, Cal.
Otis Tufton Mason, LL.D., Washington, D. C.
Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., Worcester, Mass.
Marshall Howard Saville, New York, N. Y.
Alfred Marston Tozzer, Ph.D., Cambridge, Mass.

The President then stated that the next business before the meeting was the election of officers, and appointed Hon. Charles G. Washburn, Mr. Rotch and Dr. Chamberlain to act as tellers in the election of a President.

The ballot having been taken, the tellers reported that WARREN LINCOLN had received all the votes cast. Mr. LINCOLN acknowledged the honor conferred upon him by this new expression of confidence and pledged his best services to the Society.

Dr. Samuel A. Green, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt and Caleb B. Tillinghast were then appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

This committee reported the following ticket:

Vice-Presidents:

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury, Mass.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston, Mass.

Council:

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R. I.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, LITT.D., of Portland, Me.
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL of Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, LITT.D., of New Haven,
Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication:

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D., of Worcester, Mass.
FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE of Worcester, Mass.
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, LITT.D., of Boston, Mass.
DELORAINÉ PENDRE COREY of Malden, Mass.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH of Worcester, Mass.

A ballot was then taken and the Recording Secretary having been thereto duly instructed by the President counted the ballots and reported the result to the President. The officers on the ticket reported by the committee were declared to be elected.

The Recording Secretary then stated that he had been instructed to make the following communication to the Society:

The resignation of Mr. Barton as Librarian was received at the meeting of the Council last evening and was accepted, and Mr. Barton was elected Librarian Emeritus with a salary, the same to take effect January first next, and the latter to be at the discretion of the Council. It was thereupon voted by the Council that it be recommended to the Society to cause the following to be spread upon the records as the sentiment of the Society upon learning of this event:

The Society learns with regret that Mr. Edmund M. Barton has resigned the office of Librarian, which he has held for twenty-five years with conspicuous fidelity and success, which were preceded by seventeen years' service as Assistant Librarian, in all forty-two years; and the action of the Council in appointing Mr. Barton Librarian Emeritus, is hereby approved, such appointment to hold during the pleasure of the Council, with or without duties, and at such salary as the Council may from time to time provide.

Dr. HALE: I had the honor, last night, of presenting this resolution at the Council, and am glad to say a word here. Few gentlemen here will remember the time when Mr. Barton first came into the Library. He had the honor and pleasure of coöperating a great deal with Dr. Haven. While I am one of the outside people who must be an awful bore to such men as Mr. Barton, yet I know the conspicuous

diligence and care with which he has attended to people who asked him to do things which they had no business to ask him to do, and in a thousand cases he has assisted myself and other gentlemen a great deal by his work here. It was, therefore, a great pleasure to me to introduce this motion to the Council, and I now move the adoption of their recommendation.

Dr. HALE's motion being put to vote, the action of the Council in electing Mr. Barton Librarian Emeritus, with a salary at the discretion of the Council, was approved.¹

The Recording Secretary stated that under instructions from the Council he had another recommendation from the Council to submit, which was the passage of the following vote:

"In recognition of the long and honorable service of Mr. Nathaniel Paine as Treasurer of the Society for forty-four years, *Article I.* of the By-Laws is hereby suspended so far as it fixes the number of the Councillors and Mr. Paine is hereby elected a Councillor for the ensuing year in addition to the number provided for in said By-Laws."

Dr. WRIGHT moved that the By-Laws be suspended and Mr. PAINE be elected a Councillor, adding these words: "I wish to say that it is a very remarkable experience for a Society of this kind to have a Treasurer forty-four years and never have a question raised as to his integrity. It is a record of which any man may be proud and a record of which the Society itself may be proud." By vote of the Society this recommendation of the Council was then approved.

The President then called upon Dr. JOHN GREEN of St. Louis to read a paper prepared by EUGENE F. BLISS on Dr. Saugrain's Note-Book. Prior to Dr. Green's entering upon the reading of Mr. Bliss's communication, Mr. Samuel S. Green stated that he wished to call attention to the fact that in 1897 he read a paper prepared by Mr. Bliss in

¹ Mr. Clarence Saunders Brigham was appointed to succeed Mr. Barton as Librarian.

which he gave a sketch of the life of Dr. Saugrain. It was a translation into English from the French of what seemed to be a letter that Saugrain had written to France describing a trip down the Ohio River from Pittsburg to the Falls near Louisville in 1788. The present contribution is a translation of a note-book by Dr. Saugrain covering his experiences during a second visit to this country.

Dr. GREEN then proceeded to read from Mr. Bliss's manuscript enough to show the character and value of the communication, and added in conclusion that St. Louis had been fortunate in the character of some of its early settlers, among whom he especially mentioned Dr. Engelmann, the distinguished botanist, and Dr. Saugrain, whose note-book formed the basis of Mr. Bliss's paper.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP then read a paper on "Early South American Newspapers."

The President then called upon Mr. E. H. RUSSELL and asked him to read the paper prepared by Mr. WILLIAM HARDEN on the "Kinship of States," Mr. Harden having been prevented by illness in his family from being present.

After Mr. Russell had concluded, Dr. EDWARD E. HALE spoke at some length concerning John White of Dorchester.

Dr. HALE: I want to call attention for a moment to some new information which we recently have had as to the early history of the Massachusetts Company,— thanks to the pertinacity of friends in Dorchester and of the Dorchester Historical Society.

The best statement up to this moment of the early history of Massachusetts is that made by the American Antiquarian Society, when we edited the first part of "The Records of Massachusetts Bay," and our distinguished Librarian, Dr. Haven, published his biographies, as you might say, of the founders of Massachusetts. He speaks of Rev. John White of the English Dorchester. He uses the phrases, "The Father of The Massachusetts Colony" and "The Patriarch of New England."

In date of organization the Town of Dorchester, which is now a part of the municipality of Boston, is the earliest of the settlements in the Bay, Charlestown, Boston, Cambridge, and Watertown, having been organized at later dates in the summer of 1630.

We have now received from England the full records of the city of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, where our Dorchester Colony was organized under the direction of Rev. John White, whom they there call the "Patriarch of Dorchester." A copy of his will has been obtained.

I have asked Mr. Barton to bring together before us, those of John White's printed works which we have in our Library. Gentlemen will be glad to examine them.

Mr. Haven has pointed out carefully the distinction between Rev. John White and "Century" White,—as he was called,—or "Convention" White, who sat in Cromwell's Rump Parliament. He was called "Century" White because he is the author of a very curious tract which excited great interest at the time. It is called "The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests."

Dr. HALE then showed a copy of this pamphlet which was presented by Thomas Hollis to Harvard College.

Our Rev. John White, the Patriarch of New England, died in the year 1648. Our Dorchester Historical Society has a copy of his will. This makes no mention of any sons. But one of the English authorities says that he had a nephew, James White, "a rich merchant in Boston" in 1650. There was no such person in Boston at that time, and we should be very glad if anybody can find out where James White was in 1650. I cannot but wish that some gentleman interested in those things might make a collection of White's sermons, which we could print all together. It does seem to me that better than a bronze statue in Dorchester would be a full statement of what a man the founder was. He got together a colony of his own in Dorchester and they met together there and organized there in the spring of 1630. Although they were in alliance with Winthrop and the party on the "Arbella," they started first and got here

first, and picked out our town of Dorchester, quite wisely; so that when we undertake to enumerate the local churches in the vicinity of Boston, the Dorchester church always stands first, and they say, "We are earlier than the rest of you," because they organized in the English Dorchester and the church in Charlestown did not organize until they came here. The organization, therefore, of the town of Dorchester is the earliest. And without wishing to arouse the anger of the gentleman whose paper was just read, I will observe that they always seemed disposed to leave our Dorchester and go somewhere else. They went to Connecticut and Georgia because they did not like Massachusetts.¹

["We have in the first place The Vicar of Eccles, Lancashire, born in 1570 and died in 1615. He was afterwards Fellow of the Collegiate Church, Manchester, and later Rector of Barsham, Suffolk; also, Chaplain in ordinary to James I. He wrote 'The Way to the True Church,' printed in 1608, of which Harvard College Library has the "second impression," 1610, and the "third impression," 1612." He also wrote 'English Paradise,' 1612, and various sermons. His works were collected and re-published by his brother Francis in 1624, in one volume, folio.

"Secondly, we have the author of the 'Century,' 1590-1645. He graduated at Jesus College, Oxford, went thence to the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1618. In 1640 he was returned to Parliament for Southwark. He died 29th January, 1645, and was buried in the Temple Church. He is not to be confused with the Patriarch of Dorchester (1575-1648), who was Rector of Holy Trinity, Dorchester, and was interested in sending out the colony of Dorset men to settle in Massachusetts. The two have been confused, because John White, the member of Parliament was also connected with Massachusetts. The 'Dictionary of National Biography' says:

"The first charter of the Colony of Massachusetts was procured probably under his advice, and was perhaps

¹Mr. Lane, our associate, who heard the above remarks has been kind enough to furnish me with this careful memorandum, which I place in brackets and incorporate in my remarks, as to the three John Whites who have a place in the literary history of the first half of the century of the emigration.

²The American Antiquarian Society has the fifth edition.

actually drafted by him also. He also drew up, in October 1629, the articles agreed upon 'between the Planters and Adventurers for the performance of what shall be determined' and was chosen one of the umpires to settle any disputes that might arise.'

"Of the third John White, the Rector of Dorchester, I find that we have only one published work, 'The Troubles of Jerusalem's Restauration,'⁸ in a sermon before the House of Lords, November 26, 1645.' He is also the author of 'The Planters' Plea,'⁹ of which we have two reprints, but no original; 'A Way to the Tree of Life,' 1647, which may perhaps have been confused with the first John White's 'Way to the True Church;' 'David's Psalms in Metre,' 1655; and a Commentary upon the Three First Chapters of Genesis, 1656. The last was edited after his death by friends and is accompanied by a dedication signed, John White, Jr.]"

Professor Putnam stated that the reference to the migration of the Dorchester colonists recalled to him the fact that he had recently seen an old settlement on the Ashley river where the Dorchester people took up their abode for a time. He further said that there is an old fort and the remains of an old church there, the fort being an object of great interest.

The various communications were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then adjourned.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

After the meeting, the members were entertained at luncheon by the President at his residence.

⁸These sermons are in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council is very glad to be able to report a quiet, uneventful and yet busy period since the last meeting.

As authorized at the April meeting of the Society, the Salisbury Mansion property valued at thirty-five thousand dollars has been exchanged with the Worcester Art Museum for sixty thousand feet of land at the corner of Regent Street and Park Avenue in Worcester, valued at fifteen thousand dollars, and the difference, twenty thousand dollars, has been paid to the Society.

The County Commissioners have arranged to pay \$40,000 for the property now occupied by the Library as soon as convenient for us.

A building committee has been appointed consisting of the President, Dr. Engler and Dr. Woodward, and they have secured Mr. R. Clipston Sturgis and Messrs. Winslow & Bigelow, all of Boston, as architects, who are preparing plans for a building, and hoped to be able to exhibit them at this meeting. An advisory committee has been appointed consisting of Dr. Billings of the New York Public Library, Mr. S. S. Green of the Free Public Library of Worcester, Mr. C. W. Tillinghast of the Massachusetts State Library and Mr. C. S. Brigham, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, who are to consult with the building committee about plans.

The electric lighting wires have been thoroughly overhauled and made safe according to present ideas and a shut off placed just inside the building in order that, when the lights are not in use, the current may be cut and all danger therefrom avoided.

The Council has also authorized the Library Committee to dispose of the remainder of our cabinet now in the Hall of the Society. This is in accordance with

a plan formed many years ago but not then fully carried out.

Some time ago the Society authorized the Council to collect and publish the British Royal Proclamations relating to America. Mr. C. S. Brigham has been to England in connection with this work, has selected and is preparing such as it seems best to publish, and it is hoped that the manuscript will be ready for the printer during the coming winter.

Mrs. Frances W. Haven, widow of our late Librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, has died, and in her will has left the Society a legacy of two thousand dollars without any conditions, although she has left a memorandum suggesting its use for the Librarian's room.

Mr. Edmund M. Barton has been connected with the Society as Assistant Librarian seventeen years, as Librarian twenty-five years, in all forty-two years, and he now desires to be relieved from further service. In view of his long and faithful services, the Council has elected Mr. Barton Librarian Emeritus without duties, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars per annum, subject to the approval of the Society. Mr. Barton will have a desk in the Library and advise the staff so that his great knowledge of the Library will be still available to the Society.

Mr. Haven and Mr. Barton have occupied the office of Librarian for seventy years. Having this in mind, the Council has felt peculiar difficulty in finding one qualified to maintain the high standard that has prevailed in the past. This difficulty has been well overcome in the appointment of our associate, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society who will assume the duties of the office as soon as is convenient. By his work in his present position and in connection with this Society, Mr. Brigham has shown signal ability in our special lines. With new members and new officers in the present, with the assurance of a new building in the near future, the Society may well feel that it is about to enter upon an enlarged, prosperous and useful career.

Our Recording Secretary, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, gave two thousand dollars to the Society with which to

procure a picture of our late President, Stephen Salisbury. The picture has been painted by the distinguished artist, Mr. Frederic P. Vinton, and hung in the Librarian's room, constituting a notable addition to the portraits already owned by the Society. About a hundred and sixty dollars was left after paying for the portrait and expenses and the Library Committee has purchased a volume entitled, "Soul Saving Gospel Truths Delivered in Several Sermons," etc., by Increase Mather, Philadelphia, printed by B. Franklin, 1743. This was purchased of Goodspeed for one hundred dollars, and in his catalogue he states that this third edition is extremely rare, that no copy of the first edition is known, and that there is no auction record of the sale of any edition except the Pennypacker copy of this which was defective and brought thirty dollars. Some uncertainty exists concerning the precise dates of the different editions. Mrs. Reynolds of the Library staff is endeavoring to secure data sufficient to make this certain, and, if procured, the Council may be able to report further concerning it. The volume is regarded as a noteworthy addition to the library.

Mr. George Sturgis Paine, a member of the Society since 1867, died in London, England, August 2, 1908. Mr. Daniel Coit Gilman, a member of the Society since 1884, died in Norwich, Connecticut, October 13, 1908. Notices of them have been prepared by the biographer.

At the last annual meeting on account of the long service of Mr. Nathaniel Paine, as Treasurer, the rule was suspended and he was elected a member of the Council for the year then ensuing in addition to the number provided in the rule. The Council recommend that the same course be pursued this year.

Herewith are presented votes to carry out the suggestions relating to Mr. Paine and Mr. Barton which the Council recommend the Society to pass.

The Society learns with regret that Mr. Edmund M. Barton has resigned the office of Librarian which he has held for twenty-five years with conspicuous fidelity and success, which were preceded by seventeen years service as assistant librarian, in all forty-two years, and the action

of the Council in appointing Mr. Barton Librarian Emeritus is hereby approved, such appointee to hold during the pleasure of the Council, with or without duties, and at such salary as the Council may from time to time provide.

In recognition of the long and honorable service of Mr. Nathaniel Paine as Treasurer of the Society for forty-four years, Article I. of the By-laws is hereby suspended so far as it fixes the number of the Councillors and Mr. Paine is hereby elected a Councillor for the ensuing year in addition to the number provided for in said By-laws.

SAMUEL UTLEY,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

Daniel Coit Gilman, died October 13, 1908, in Norwich, Connecticut, in which city he was born, July 6, 1831.

He attended the Cornelius Institute in New York City, graduated from Yale in 1852 with the degree of A. B., which was followed by that of A. M., in 1855, and he received the degree of LL.D., from Harvard, 1876; St. John's of Maryland, 1876; Columbia, 1887; Yale, 1889; North Carolina, 1889; Princeton, 1896; Toronto, 1903; Wisconsin, 1904; Clark, 1905; and William and Mary, 1906.

After graduating he pursued his studies in Cambridge, New Haven and Berlin. As Superintendent of the Public Schools of New Haven, he entered upon his life's work as a teacher. From 1865 to 1872 he was Superintendent of the Public Schools of Connecticut. From 1856 to 1872 he was Secretary of the Sheffield Scientific School and Professor of Physical and Political Geography in Yale.

In 1872 he became President of the University of California where he remained till 1875, when he was elected the first President of the Johns Hopkins University, holding that office till 1901, when he was made President Emeritus.

As trustee of the Slater Fund and of the Peabody Fund he rendered great service to the negroes of the South. In 1896-7 he was a member of the Commission to establish a boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana and furnished maps and data which had an important influence in shaping the final settlement.

He became the first President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, serving from 1901 to 1904. He was President of the American Oriental Society, 1893-1906; Vice-President of the Peabody Educational Fund; President of the National Civil Service League. He was always fully alive to his civil and political duties and responsibilities.

All notices speak of him as a great educator, one saying, "It is not too much to say that he exercised in his office the most remarkable influence that has yet touched the university question in our country. No university exists

that has not felt this influence—the oldest as well as the youngest.”

Our Associate, Dr. G. Stanley Hall, for many years connected with him at Johns Hopkins, says: “Dr. Gilman was essentially an inside president, his energies being chiefly devoted to details of management, to stimulating his professors by interesting himself personally in their work. His death terminates a career which will always be regarded as more or less epoch-making in the history of education in this country.”

Many books and pamphlets are from his pen, among them *University Problems*, *Life of James Monroe*, *Life of James D. Dana*, *Introduction to DeTocqueville's Itinerary*, *Science and Letters in Yale*, *Historical Address at Norwich, Connecticut*, and many addresses and reports. He also edited the writings of Francis Lieber and Joseph P. Thompson.

He married in 1861, Mary Ketcham, who died in 1869, leaving two children; and in 1877, Elizabeth Dwight Woolsey.

He was a member of many societies, American and foreign. He became a member of this Society in 1884, and it is indebted to him for his publications, sent as issued, which are very numerous and of great value.

George Sturgis Paine, died in London, England, August, 1908.

He was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, June 4, 1833, the son of Frederick William Paine, long a very active and important member of this Society. After a course in the schools of Worcester, our late Associate graduated from Harvard in 1853 with the degree of A. B., and later received that of A. M., from Harvard in 1860, from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1865, and from the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, in 1867. In 1853–4, and again in 1858–9, he traveled extensively in Europe. Returning to America, he was ordained a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church, but never took a parish, though he preached in several places for considerable periods. Since 1895 he has resided in London. He became a member of this Society in 1867, and in many ways has shown an interest in its welfare, especially in giving to it a valuable collection of Paine manuscripts.

S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1908, and a statement of the investments of the Society.

The amounts credited to the various funds have been adjusted, and new accounts opened with each fund as advised and recommended by the Council. Separate ledger accounts of the principal and interest of each fund will be kept hereafter.

A full year's income has not been received on a considerable portion of the funds paid on account of Mr. Salisbury's legacy, because the second six months' interest payment is not yet due on many of our purchases.

Four and one-half per cent. ($4\frac{1}{2}\%$) has been credited to the income accounts of the various funds, in addition to various balances, leaving a small balance of \$94.97 to the credit of Loss and Gain account, which has not been apportioned.

During the fiscal year, we have received \$151,906.32 from the executors of Mr. Salisbury's will. Of this sum \$140,000 was the balance due on the principal account and \$11,906.32 for interest. As a large part of this interest was earned during a period previous to this year, it was deemed best to credit our interest account only with the amount earned during our fiscal year, allowing the balance to go to the credit of the principal account thereby increasing the same by \$9,500.

We have received during the year the sum of \$2,000 from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, for the purpose of securing a portrait of Mr. Salisbury, any part of which, after paying for the portrait, by the terms of the gift, was to be expended for books. \$100 of the balance has been so expended and \$62.15 still remains.

During the year, the Salisbury Mansion has been sold to the Worcester Art Museum for \$35,000, and a site for the

Society's new building has been purchased of the Art Museum for \$15,000.

The item of fire insurance appears large, but the Council through the President advised a re-arrangement of it, and the premiums for five years have been paid.

Following will be found statements of receipts and disbursements and a list of the assets.

As many of the securities owned by the Society are not often sold on the exchanges, no accurate market value can be quoted; and in the case of all of them, the market values are variable and change with general financial conditions which prevail at the time quotations are secured. It is safe to say that the market value of the whole list is in substantial excess of their book value.

The securities on the list which are marked with a star have been purchased by the Finance Committee, acting through the President and Treasurer, with the funds received from the Salisbury legacy, and from the sale of the Salisbury Mansion.

RECEIPTS.

Assets October 1, 1907.....	\$288,533.06	
Interest received since Oct. 1, 1907.....	24,180.79	
Rents " " ".....	1,117.20	
Assessments " " ".....	390.00	
Estate of Stephen Salisbury on account of Salisbury legacy.....	140,000.00	
Andrew McF. Davis for Salisbury Portrait...	2,000.00	
Sale of Salisbury Mansion over book value...	5,000.00	
Sale of Books, etc.....	1,323.48	
		<hr/>
		\$462,544.53

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries.....	\$4,763.39
Cataloguing manuscripts.....	1,500.00
Rent of Newspaper room.....	200.00
Repairs on Furniture and Paintings.....	676.05
Binding.....	373.82
Publishing.....	1,725.65
Books.....	2,698.66
Expended on "Royal Proclamations".....	1,299.75
Repairs on Buildings.....	125.33

Carried forward, \$13,362.65

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$13,362.65	
Fire Insurance.....		769.00	
Expenses on Salisbury Mansion.....		664.42	
Portrait of Stephen Salisbury.....		1,839.00	
New Library Building.....		1,333.57	
All other expenses.....		1,419.83	19,388.47

Assets,

\$443,156.06*ASSETS OCT. 1, 1908.*

Bonds.....	\$330,734.00	
Stocks.....	34,950.00	
Mortgage Loans.....	18,300.00	
Real Estate.....	54,958.50	
Savings Bank Deposits.....	150.56	
Bond Premium Account.....	1,317.69	
Cash in Bank subject to checks.....	2,745.31	\$443,156.06

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

BONDS.	PAR.	Book.
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co., 4%....	\$2,000	\$1,946
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co., 4%....	11,000	11,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R., 4%.	2,000	1,540
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R., 4%	1,000	885
*Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., 3½%.....	5,000	4,637
*Boston & Albany R. R. Co., 4%.....	15,000	14,325
*Boston & Maine R. R., 6%.....	25,000	24,593
Boston Elevated R. R. Co., 4%.....	2,000	2,000
*Boston Elevated R. R. Co., 4½%.....	8,000	7,960
*Baltimore, Md., City of, 4%.....	15,000	15,000
*Boston, Mass., City of, 3½%.....	15,000	14,887
Brockton, Mass., City of, 4%.....	2,000	2,000
*Chicago, Ill., City of, 4%.....	8,000	8,000
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R., 4%.	5,000	5,000
Chicago, Cinn. & Louisville R. R., 4½%..	3,000	3,000
Chicago & Eastern Ill. R. R., 5%.....	9,000	9,000
*Chicago, Indiana & Southern R. R.....		
(Lake Shore & Mich. Southern R.R.)4%	12,000	10,920
Congress Hotel Co., Chicago, Ill., 6%....	5,000	5,000
Crompton & Knowles L'm'W's, Worcester,		
Mass., 6%.....	4,000	4,000
Ellicott Sq. Co., Buffalo, N. Y., 5%....	5,000	5,000
Hoosier Equipment Co., 5%.....	4,000	4,000
Illinois Central R. R., 3½%.....	2,000	2,000

Carried forward,\$156,693

<i>Brought forward,</i>		\$156,693
*Jersey City, N. J., City of, 4%.....	5,000	4,931
*Kansas City, Mo., City of, 4%.....	15,000	14,400
*Lake Shore & Mich. So. R. R., 4%.....	8,000	6,770
Lake Shore & Mich. So. R. R., 4%.....	2,000	2,000
*Louisville & Nashville R. R., 4%.....	10,000	9,470
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Ry. Co., 5%	8,000	7,620
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co., 5%.....	1,000	1,000
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co., 5%.....	1,000	1,000
*Memphis, Tenn., City of, 4%.....	5,000	4,887
*Middletown, Conn., City of, 3½ %.....	5,000	4,700
*State of Minnesota, University Loan, 4½%	20,000	19,932
*New York, City of, 4½%.....	20,000	20,000
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R. Co., 4%..	10,000	10,000
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R. Co., 3½%..	2,000	2,000
*N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R. Co., 6%..	2,200	2,189
*Old Colony R. R., 4%.....	3,000	2,970
*Omaha, Neb., City of, 4½%.....	15,000	15,000
*Penobscot Shore Line R. R., 4%.....	5,000	4,943
Pere Marquette R. R., 4%.....	5,000	5,000
Quincy, Mass., City of, 4%.....	4,000	4,000
Southern Indiana R. R., 4%.....	2,000	2,000
Union Pacific R. R., 4%.....	500	450
*Waterbury, Conn., City of, 4%.....	10,000	9,600
West End St. Ry. Co., 4%.....	1,000	1,000
Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R., 5%.....	2,000	2,000
*Woonsocket, R. I., City of, 4%.....	12,000	11,179
Worcester & Marlboro St. Ry. Co., 5%...	3,000	3,000
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co., 5%...	2,000	2,000

\$330,734

STOCKS.		Par	Book
Shares		Value.	Value.
20 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,000	\$2,000	
11 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co.	1,100		700
10 Boston Tow Boat Co.....	1,000		1,000
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston..	3,200		3,200
6 Fitchburg National Bank.....	600		600
50 Fitchburg Railroad Co.....	5,000		5,000
35 Mass. Gas Light Companies (Pref.)...	3,500		2,900
55 N. Y., N. H. & Hartford Ry. Co.....	5,500		6,500
30 Northern Railroad (N. H.).....	3,000		3,000
3 Old Boston National Bank.....	300		300
10 Old South Building Trust (Pref.)....	1,000		1,000
10 Old South Building Trust (Com.)....	1,000		0,000
<i>Carried forward,</i>			\$26,200

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$26,200	
30	Union Pacific Railroad (Com.).....	3,000	3,000
16	Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800
25	West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250
8	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	800	800
16	Worcester National Bank.....	1,600	1,600
3	Worcester Trust Co.....	300	300
			<hr/>
			\$34,950

MORTGAGE LOANS.

J. Burwick, Worcester, Mass.....	\$2,100.00	
L. L. Mellen, Worcester, Mass.....	1,500.00	
B. F. Sawyer, Worcester, Mass.....	3,500.00	
J. P. Sexton, Trustee, Worcester, Mass.....	8,000.00	
S. P. Trots, Worcester, Mass.....	3,200.00	
		<hr/>
		\$18,300.00

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Peoples Savings Bank.....	\$13.29	
Worcester Five Cent Savings Bank.....	19.14	
Worcester Mechanics Savings Bank.....	118.13	
		<hr/>
		\$150.56

REAL ESTATE.

Library Building.....	\$40,000.00	
New Library Building Site.....	14,958.50	
		<hr/>
		\$54,958.50

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, 1908.

Alden Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,000.00
Income during the year.....	\$56.58	
Expenditure.....	51.58	\$5.00
		<hr/>

Bookbinding Fund.

Principal.....		\$7,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$1.72	
Income during the year.....	407.74	
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		409.46
Expenditure.....	373.16	\$36.30
		<hr/>

1908.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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George Chandler Fund.

Principal.....		\$500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$23.17	
Income during the year.....	29.37	
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	\$52.54	
Expenditure.....	50.04	\$2.50
	<hr/>	

Collection and Research Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 27.86	
Income during the year.....	1,842.76	
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	\$1,870.62	
Expenditure.....	1,634.19	\$236.43
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Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund.

Principal.....		\$15,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$279.22	
Income during the year.....	675.00	
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	\$954.22	
Expenditure.....	739.92	\$214.30
	<hr/>	

John and Eliza Davis Fund.

Principal.....		\$3,900.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 6.99	
Income during the year.....	185.53	
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	\$192.52	
Expenditure.....	114.78	\$77.74
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Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Principal.....		\$4,800.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$75.88	
Income during the year.....	216.00	
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	\$291.88	
Expenditure.....	108.30	\$183.58
	<hr/>	

George E. Ellis Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 3.73	
Income during the year.....	787.50	
	<hr/>	
	\$791.23	
Expenditure.....	608.13	\$183.10
	<hr/>	

Librarians' and General Fund.

Principal.....		\$35,000.00
Income during the year.....	\$1,805.00	
Expenditure.....	1,387.99	\$417.01
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Haven Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$3.42	
Income during the year.....	67.50	
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	\$70.92	
Expenditure.....	56.65	\$14.27
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Library Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$40,000.00
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Life Membership Fund.

Principal.....		\$2,600.00
Income.....	\$176.89	
Expenditure.....	163.89	\$13.00
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Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Principal.....		\$7,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$292.34	
Income during the year.....	315.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$607.34	
Expenditure.....	570.24	\$37.10
	<hr/>	

Publishing Fund.

Principal.....		\$32,000.00
Income during the year.....	\$2,111.15	
Expenditure.....	1,768.45	\$342.70
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Salisbury Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$6,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$45.74	
Income during the year.....	495.00	
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	\$540.74	
Expenditure.....	420.54	\$120.20
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Salisbury Mansion Fund.

Principal Oct. 1, 1907.....	\$30,000.00	
Increase by sale over book value.....	5,000.00	\$35,000.00
	<hr/>	
Balance of income from last year.....	\$409.83	
Income during the year.....	1,350.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,759.83	
Expenditure.....	1,596.42	\$163.41
	<hr/>	

Salisbury Legacy Fund.

Principal Oct. 1, 1907.....	\$60,000.00	
Principal received during year.....	140,000.00	
Increased by portion of interest added.....	9,500.00	\$209,500.00
	<hr/>	
Income during year.....	\$7,487.93	
Expenditure.....	7,032.06	\$455.87
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Tenney Fund.

Principal.....		\$5,000.00
Income during the year.....	\$261.30	
Expenditure.....	236.30	\$25.00
	<hr/>	

Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$63.16	
Income during the year.....	55.73	
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	\$118.89	
Expenditure.....	113.89	\$5.00
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1908, have been examined by W. Thane Boyden, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HENRY A. MARSH.

Auditors.

October 1, 1908.

WORCESTER, MASS., Oct. 1, 1908.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending Sept. 30, 1908, and find same to be correct and properly vouched.

W. THANE BOYDEN,

Accountant.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

My last report is presented at the end of a year in which the "forward movement" has been continuous. Made possible by the generous bequest of our benefactor, the late President Salisbury, we have asked for many things which have been promptly supplied.

It was said at our last Annual Meeting that the new President "must practically become the executive head of the Society." Mr. Lincoln has not only filled that position but his daily hours at the Library have had a stimulating effect upon the workers therein.

But one change has been made in the Library staff: Miss Louise Colegrove came to us on April 21, 1908, and on May 31 following Miss Emma F. Waite retired after eight months of intelligent service.

Reference to the seal of the Society in the Librarian's report of October, 1907, leads Mr. Charles A. Chase to add the following as supplementary thereto. He first presents this setting of the motto which President Thomas so wisely selected from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XV-871:

"Jamque opus exegi quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis
nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas;"

and this translation: "Now I have ended a work which the wrath of Jove shall not be able to destroy, nor fire, nor sword, nor consuming time."

At the close of his communication to the Librarian, he adds: "Compare Horace, *Odes* III-30."

"Exegi monumentum aere perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.

Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex."

The argument of Horace's epilogue, or that portion of it in which we have an especial interest, is translated as follows: "I have built myself a monument which storms shall not destroy, nor Time himself. I shall not die, but live in freshness of fame so long as the world endures." In a report to the Council, on October 23, 1906, on the matter of changing the Society's seal, Mr. Chase recommended the addition to the seal of the date of our foundation, 1812, and it was so ordered.

The repairs upon our portraits and furniture have gone steadily forward although not yet completed, and new light has been thrown upon some of the subjects treated. The portrait of the loyalist Charles Paxton, attributed to Copley, presented many years ago "by a lady," is marked "J. Cornish Pinxit," and the date 1751; while the portrait of Robert B. Thomas, painted shortly before his death, is ascribed to William Talcott. Upon the removal of the imperfect mirrors from the Leverett secretary, the original panels were found in perfect condition.

It is not generally known that our Proceedings for May 31, 1843 appeared as Vol. I., No. 1, and for October 23, 1843 as Vol. I., No. 2, although they were not continuously paged. The latter number was noticed in *The National Ægis* of December 27, 1843, as follows:

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

"We have received a copy of the Address delivered before this society, and of their proceedings at their annual meeting in October.

This association has been incorporated thirty-one years, and stands pre-eminently at the head of all similar institutions in this country. Its library, containing more than 14,000 volumes, many of them very valuable and ancient works, attracts the attention of all strangers visiting Worcester, who have any curiosity as to the inspection of ancient and rare books. But aside from the attractions arising from the antiquity of many of the works preserved there, the scholar and

the author, who weekly and almost daily resort thither, find in its library rich sources of valuable information, from whence to enrich their minds, and to impart an increased value to their works.

The Society is extremely fortunate in having one every way so well fitted to discharge the duties of Librarian, as Samuel F. Haven, Esq. To a love for Antiquarian research which ever prompts him to aid the enquirer, Mr. Haven adds an urbanity and courtesy of manner, which must always favorably impress the many visitors of the Hall of the Society.

The annual address was delivered by Hon. John Davis, Vice-president, in the absence of Hon. Edward Everett, President.

Gov. Davis commences by referring to the origin of the society, and alludes to its founder and its first friends, who have gone to their rest, and then proceeds to speak more particularly of the great loss the society has sustained by the death of William Lincoln, Esq. No man had rendered to this society more valuable or important services than the late Mr. Lincoln. And the address of Gov. Davis, speaking as it does of Mr. Lincoln in the highest terms of praise, renders no more than a just and merited tribute to his memory."

The printing of our Diary of the Reverend William Bentley, D. D., by the Essex Institute—two volumes of which have already appeared—is in progress. It is full of the details of Essex County life and is being carefully edited and indexed. The statement that Dr. Bentley *ordered* the destruction of manuscripts in his own hand is not quite true, for the closing paragraph of his will reads, "*I recommend to my nephew to destroy all the works of every name in my own hand, and to accept what remains for his services, and I constitute the said William Bentley Fowle my sole executor.*"

The book of accessions records three hundred and eighty-two sources of gifts; namely, forty-two members, one hundred and twenty-two persons not members, and two hundred and eighteen societies and institutions. We have received from them one thousand and four books, fifty-two hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets, twenty-three bound and twenty-one unbound volumes of newspapers, seventeen photographs, five engravings, five maps, four broadsides, three coins, one medal, and small collections of manuscripts

and Indian stone implements; by purchase, three hundred and ninety-six books, seventeen pamphlets and thirty-nine volumes of bound newspapers; by exchange, nineteen books and twenty pamphlets, and from the bindery, sixty-four books and fifty-seven volumes of newspapers; a total of fourteen hundred and eighty-three books, fifty-three hundred and twenty-four pamphlets, one hundred and nineteen bound and twenty-one volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

The year has been an eventful one in the expenditure of money for the enrichment of our North and South American specialties.

A few of the free-will offerings of members are here mentioned: Mr. William K. Bixby writes; "I am sending you to-day by express, volume No. 379 of Hamilton's *Itinerarium* which I have had privately printed. This journal was kept by Doctor Andrew Hamilton, who started on a trip from Maryland and travelled through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and the New England States in 1744. No part of this has ever before been printed, and no copies will be offered for sale. Please accept with my compliments." The gift of Mr. Andrew McF. Davis includes a very rare Increase Mather tract printed by Franklin, and remainders of several of his important papers contributed to our own and other learned Societies. Such valuable deposits of the remainders of editions were received in the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from Isaiah Thomas, and from Christopher C. Baldwin and William Lincoln. Our Founder's 1789 edition of Goldsmith's *History of Goody Two Shoes* and Whitney's *History of Worcester County* (1793) and Lincoln and Baldwin's *Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal* in 1825-26, are pointed illustrations. Mr. Albert Matthews' notes on *Boston Newspapers, 1704-1780*, and on *New England Magazines before 1800*; and the deposit by Mr. Nathaniel Paine of the manuscript documents relating to the Devens Statue Memorial, are gratefully received. The annual gifts of Mr. Henry P. Upham have been of a high order. His latest is a set—in thirty-two volumes—of the "*Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*" edited by Dr. Reuben G.

Thwaites. I also call your attention to a few gifts from persons who are not members of this Society: Miss Lucy A. Brainard thoughtfully sends her three-volume edition of the Brainerd-Brainard Genealogy "for courtesies extended to me several years ago, when I spent some time in your library working on the Genealogy in investigation and research." In the parcels of manuscripts, books, pamphlets and newspapers marked for the Society by the late Mrs. Samuel Foster Haven, were found five original issues of the News-Letter of 1713 and 1717 which proved to be duplicates and are now for sale by the Society. The important manuscript contribution from the Estate of Benjamin F. Heywood includes the Orderly Book, March 26—December 31, 1782 of Sergeant Joseph Russell of Captain Heywood's Company [5th] in the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, as well as the Regimental Book of the year 1782. The Olin L. Merriam, Brookfield collection of Indian stone implements, has been placed in our custody by his sister, Miss Nellie J. Merriam.

Mr. J. P. Morgan, at the request of our associate, Mr. Edward L. Davis has presented the Society with a copy in four sumptuous volumes of the catalogue of a portion of his manuscripts and printed books.

Miss Adelaide R. Sawyer, niece of Christopher C. Baldwin, Librarian of this Society, 1827-1835, has generously surrendered to our care the water-color miniature of her uncle, painted from life by Miss Sarah Goodridge. It may be added, as indicating the quality of Miss Goodridge's work, that her miniature portrait of our founder, which was used in the second edition of his History of Printing, was declared by his friend, the Rev. George Allen, to be the best of the numerous portraits of Isaiah Thomas.

The gifts from the Society as well as those to it deserve brief mention: On February 17, 1908, about three hundred bound volumes of novels were delivered to Clark College. In August of the present year the California Genealogical Society acknowledged "a most valuable gift" of the biographical and genealogical reprints from the Society's Proceedings "to assist in a measure to replace those destroyed in the San Francisco fire of April 18-20, 1906."

Our Associate, Charles L. Nichols, M. D., has nearly completed a card catalogue, with notes, of the alphabetically arranged almanacs in the south lobby below stairs. They number about 2500 titles and of these some 800 are of the period previous to the year 1800. The printing of the seventeenth and eighteenth century titles is of the first importance. Dr. Nichols is the author of the admirable "Bibliography of Worcester", published in 1899.

An important transfer is best announced in connection with the following letter:

CAMBRIDGE, April 14, 1908.

Dear Sir:—

I beg to acknowledge on behalf of the President and Fellows of Harvard College the receipt of your letter of April 13 informing them of the generous action of the Library Committee of the American Antiquarian Society in offering to give the College, without restrictions or conditions, the copper coins of the Eastern Hemisphere, now in the possession of the Society.

This offer is gratefully accepted by the University upon the terms so kindly imposed by the Committee, and I am therefore asking your Librarian to ship them to Dr. Malcolm Storer, our Curator of Coins at the College Library.

Upon arrival of the coins, I shall formally report the fact to the Corporation, in order that suitable acknowledgments may be sent to your Society for their generous gift.

Very truly yours,

JEROME D. GREENE,

Secretary.

WALDO LINCOLN, Esq.

American Antiquarian Society.

On April 28, 1908, the collection was carefully boxed, and shipped to Dr. Storer.

It is thought desirable that the following facts be made a matter of record in the body of this report. They are from the Records of the Council, and are given in chronological order: "April 1, 1840, voted that the Librarian be authorized to deliver to the Secretary of the Commonwealth such manuscripts and papers relating to the War of the Revolution as are in possession of the Society, upon the conditions that the Secretary will cause the same to be arranged in good order, bound into volumes, safely kept

while the same shall remain in his custody, and return the same, whenever thereto requested, to the library, free of expense to the Society. William Lincoln, Secretary *pro tem.*"

The following is in the handwriting of Samuel Foster Haven, Librarian.

"Memorandum.

1840, Tuesday May 12th. Sent by stage to the Secretary of State a box of manuscripts relating to the Military Service of the Revolution in compliance with a vote of the Council of the Antiquarian Society on April 1st.

S. F. H.

Military papers sent to Boston."

In conclusion, I may be allowed to certify to the conscientious work done by all my assistants; and to express personal as well as official gratitude to them for many years of devoted service to this ancient and honorable Society.

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers.

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Lewis Publishing Co.
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Nutt, Charles.
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Salley, Alexander S., Jr.
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Boston Transit Commission.
Boston University.
Bowdoin College.
Bowdoin College Library.
Brockton Public Library.
Brookline Public Library.
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Brown University.
Bunker Hill Monument Association.
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Bureau of Labor.
California State Library.
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Cambridge Historical Society.
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Colonial Society of Massachusetts.
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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.
Los Angeles Public Library.
Lowell Historical Society.
Loyal Legion of the State of Maine.
Maine Historical Society.
Maine State Library.
Maryland Historical Society.
Massachusetts Board of Health.
Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts General Hospital.
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Massachusetts Infant Asylum.
Massachusetts Library Club.
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Massachusetts School for the Feeble Minded.
Massachusetts State Board of Health.
Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps.
Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board.
Missouri Historical Society.
Munson Steamship Line.
Museo Nacional de México.
National Board of Trade.
Naturhistorische Gesellschaft in Nürnberg.
Newberry Library.
New England Historic Genealogical Society.

New Hampshire State Library.
New Haven Colony Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
New York Academy of Sciences.
New York City Department of Finance.
New York Evening Post and Printing Co.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
New York Historical Society.
New York Public Library.
New York State Hospital for Crippled and Deformed Children.
New York State Library.
New York University.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.
Oregon Historical Society.
Pacific Scientific Institution.
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore
Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.
Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind.
Portland (Maine) Board of Trade.
Pratt Institute Free Library.
Providence Public Library
The Queens Borough Public Library.
Quinsigamond Boat Club.
Republica Mexicana.
Rhode Island Registration Bureau.
Royal Historical Society of London.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Royal Society of Canada.
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Seattle Public Library.
Smithsonian Institution.
Sociedad Geografica de Lima.
Société des Americanistes de Paris.
Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.
Société de Géographie, Paris.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Société Portugaise de Sciences Naturelles.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Colonial Wars.
South Carolina Historical Society.
Southern Historical Society.
Springfield City Library Association.

State Charities Aid Association of New York.
State Historical Society of Iowa.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
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Swedish-American Historical Society.
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Topsfield Historical Society.
Union Church of Worcester.
United States Bureau of Education.
United States Civil Service Commission.
United States Patent Office.
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Wyoming Commemorative Association.
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.
Yale University Library.
York Public Library Committee.
Young Men's Christian Associations of North America.

FROM DR. SAUGRAIN'S NOTE-BOOKS, 1788.

- I. Stay Opposite Louisville.
- II. Observations upon Post Vincennes.
- III. Diary of Journal from Louisville to Philadelphia.

At the meeting of this Society, held in Boston, April 1897, was read an article entitled: "Dr. Saugrain's Relation of his Voyage down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to the Falls in 1788." I prefaced this "Relation" by a brief sketch of the Doctor's life. I give to-day what we have left of Dr. Saugrain's journals or note-books. These contain an account of his stay opposite Louisville, his observations upon Post Vincennes in the present Indiana and his account of his return to Philadelphia through Kentucky to Maysville, up the Ohio to Pittsburgh and thence through Pennsylvania. The few notes I have appended are taken from Collins' History of Kentucky, unless some other authority is given.

Since the publication of my communication of 1897 two pamphlets have been published in relation to Dr. Saugrain. The first by Dr. N. P. Dandridge of Cincinnati, being the address he delivered as President at the meeting of the American Surgical Association at St. Louis, June 14, 1904; the other by William Vincent Byars, entitled: "The First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley," St. Louis, without date. Both these pamphlets have a likeness of Dr. Saugrain "from an old portrait, painted from life."

In preparing this article I have been indebted to The Historical & Philosophical Society of Ohio.

EUGENE F. BLISS.

DR. SAUGRAIN'S NOTE-BOOKS, 1788.

COMMUNICATED BY EUGENE F. BLISS.

I.

STAY OPPOSITE LOUISVILLE.

I arrived in Louisville March 29th, 1788. I crossed the Ohio Sunday morning, the 30th of the same month. I wrote to Monsieu La Size and to d'Orcantille etc. April 13th. I thought when I arrived at the fort,¹ where I still am, April 20th,—considering the politeness shown me,—that I should be badly off, since we easily tire of giving hospitality and of showing attention to a man of whom we have nothing to expect and who has no money, but I was mistaken, for the longer I am here the more attention I am shown. The surgeon and the officers are the best men in the world and take the greatest care of me. My feet are doing well and in ten or twelve days I think I shall be able to walk. It has needed, however, a long time to bring this about. I shall not lose the big toe of the left foot and the first joint of the second toe of the same foot. My neck is quite cured and my hand could not be better. I have got off with the loss of the perfect use of the index finger of the left hand.

We set out from Pittsburgh March 18th. The Indians attacked us on the 23d and I was three days in the woods. A Kentucky boat brought us in two days to the Falls.

Louisville is a very unhealthy place and I have no trouble in believing it, considering the negligence of its inhabitants, who let the water stagnate in the lower parts, although it would be little trouble to draw it off. There is nothing remarkable except an old fort,² of which I speak simply to tell of the city, for it would not be worth while to speak

¹Fort Steuben.²Fort Nelson.

of some heaps of dirt made for earthworks which would overawe only savages. I say nothing of the environs; I have not yet seen them. As for the other side of the Ohio, they have built the fort where I am. At first view it is a charming place and superb trees produce this effect. One who has not been over the environs of the fort except for two miles would judge the place healthy, but a little farther off are swamps which make the place unhealthy, which is asserted by four or five persons, for I have not myself seen them. We are going to-morrow or the day after to see a creek, called in English Silver Creek. There are several mines, they say, and I have here the reputation of a great mineralogist and as I found at Fort Pitt a little silver in a lead mine, some of which they gave me to assay, they believe in this part of America that I am going to find all the gold of Peru. So they bring specimens in abundance and the greater part are only iron or copper pyrites. I wish, my learned friend, you were here, for there is a lead mine that yields abundantly, but with a considerable quantity of bismuth, as I judge. The mine is not yet regularly worked. I shall bring you specimens from it and we will see together, we two men, if it is good, better than one. This will be perhaps a good thing. It is found fifteen miles from the Falls. I make myself useful to all. I have made them a furnace and we make fixed alkalies for all the doctors roundabout. It is good to know something, one makes himself useful, and I amuse them also with some experiments in electricity.

The number of boats that come down is considerable; here comes the seventeenth and a great number of them will continue to come. The number of them, however, is not so great as at Limestone,³ where there comes and stops a prodigious number. I understand now that it is not well to have a salt spring too near your house, for the cattle amuse themselves by licking the ground, eat little and consequently become lean. Salt is not dear here;

³Now Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio River sixty miles above Cincinnati, named after James May. Its first name was derived from its situation at the mouth of Limestone Creek.

it is got from the springs. There is no doubt in my mind that all this country has been covered by the waters of the sea, or has been a lake. I shall bring you some stones, which, I think, will convince you when you have seen the incrustations of sea shells which occur. A few days ago some surveyors, working along the Little Miami, found hung up in a tree a blanket in which there was much linen, cloth etc. It is presumed that this was from a boat which met the same fate as our own. The savages could not carry off everything. Although I have very little money, I have yet been obliged to have two shirts made. They sold me the linen at a dollar a yard, or aune of the country. It is terribly coarse, but it is white. It is true there is some which is much less coarse, finer and cheaper etc., but it is the cloth of the country,—Salt is worth at the Falls two dollars the bushel. (It is, you see, dearer than I thought.) It is made, as you know, at the salt springs which are found about here in abundance. If one wishes to go for it himself and does not wish to take the trouble to boil the water, it comes at a dollar a bushel. It is generally very white. I shall bring specimens of different salt springs in case they wish an analysis of them. There is here at the Falls and in the neighborhood quite a large quantity of flintstones, of which the savages formerly made use to point their arrows and of which now are made gun-flints, which are not too good. Nearly all Kentucky (Kientuke) is filled with a cane which gives very good fodder for cattle of every sort. This kind of fodder has one great inconvenience when once the cattle have eaten off the leaves they do not put out again. (It will be Kentucky's fate some day to find herself stripped of pasturage.) There are turtles here and in great plenty. The soldiers often go for them and we eat them. A sort of soup is made of them which is quite good. Geese and turkeys are very common. Ducks, plovers, quails etc. The noise of the drum and fifes drives away the deer. I believe you have to go two and three miles to kill any of them.

The 25th. I have been to visit the famous creek of Silver Creek, but unfortunately the waters are so high that we

could not even see the creek. The waters have overflowed but I was rewarded for my trouble—for my feet still pain me—by seeing a very abundant stream of mineral water. This water is impregnated with a considerable quantity of iron and especially at this moment when we have had much rain here. I brought back some of the water to the fort and, having put into it an infusion of oak-bark, it gave me the ink with which I am writing to you,—after, however, bringing it over the fire and boiling it for two hours, it is as blue as at this moment, but I think it will fix.⁴ I do not know whether it contains copper, but having here only fixed alkalies it gave me a precipitate of high color. This spring is called Calybia, a name which the doctor here has given it. It is distant from the fort a mile or a mile and a half. I went from there to Clarksville⁵ (Carlqueville). Much has been said of the beauty of the little town. There are at present only seven or eight houses, which is surprising. The air is drier there than at Louisville. They assure me they are free from fevers. The situation is fine and it is only four years since the first house was built. The lands there are splendid and even amazing in goodness, but no one goes there. I can give no other reason for this unless it be that men wish to go where there are men.

Louisville is very unhealthy and has people enough, and the hope of doing business has brought them there. Ah, my dear, what a singular emigration! There have come since the letter I wrote you from the Falls, the duplicate of which will go off with this one—there have come down since the date of my letter, which is of the 21st, to to-day, the 3d of May, thirty-four boats, each more crowded than the other, seventeen which had come and thirty-four—fifty-one boats arrived, some come every day. It is only four or five days ago that walking in the woods here I found some resin, which I call copal, although I am not positively sure that it is. But the tree from which I got it is very much like that of the Mississippi. I bring you some. They

⁴ The writing made with this ink is dark brown, perfectly distinct after the lapse of a century.

⁵ "Situated on the north side of the Ohio, one mile below the Rapids, and in view of Louisville." Scott's U. S. Gazetteer, 1795.

call the tree sweet-gum in this country. They were very much surprised at the fort that I found any of this resin; those who had lived here three years had not found it, such good observors they are, and to honor my sojourn in the fort they have planted one in the garden to which they have given the name Saugrain-tree. I intend to leave the fort very soon.

There has just arrived to-day, May 7th, come from Post Vincennes (veinsone), a boat. It had fourteen rowers and eight or nine passengers. It was attacked 150 or 160 miles from the fort and the Indians killed two men, (they do not know whether the Indians lost any). They believe there were forty of them. They all fired upon the boat and yet two men only were killed, and I believe it is fear which in such cases makes them so awkward. After the accident, and some miles below the place where they were attacked, they sent two men to inform the fort of it, but either they have been taken and killed by the savages, or the bad weather has detained them. They have no news of them. This same boat which has just arrived is the very one which is to take me to Fort Pitt. There will be quite a number of us and a part will go by land to help the boat in case of attack. This boat which is very large will be accompanied by two smaller ones and I believe if the Indians attack us we shall give them a bad turn. An excellent opportunity is presented and I am going to avail myself of it. Col. Blaine⁶ is going as far as Carlisle and I intend to travel with him, that is to say, we shall see the whole of Kentucky (quintaque) and we shall go on horseback as far as Limestone, where we shall await the boats which are to take us to Muskingum⁷ (Mousquingome); from there another or the same boat will take us to Wheeling (Wouilique), where I shall do my best to borrow a horse to take me to Fort Pitt, Philadelphia, etc. I am making a little book in which I shall keep exact account of everything interesting

⁶ This was probably Ephraim Blaine, Commissary-General of the Northern Department in the War of the American Revolution, the great-grandfather of James G. Blaine; in this opinion I am supported by John Ewing Blaine, himself a great-grandson of Ephraim Blaine.

⁷ Marietta, founded this same year, 1788.

which shall present itself. I pray the savages may not catch me again. The route is not very safe. I do not, however, believe it very dangerous when the journey is made with four or five persons well-armed, but unhappily we are only Col. Blaine and myself. I have no arms and I doubt if he has any. But, "nothing venture, nothing gain," says the proverb, and I have such a desire to see Kentucky that fear is nothing to me. We shall set out to-morrow. I feel sorry to leave the fort, those who live in it are so amiable and I am so pleased with them. The same boat reports to us that a great many people are sick at Post Vincennes and it seems to me that fevers rage there as here also.

II.

OBSERVATIONS UPON POST VINCENNES.⁵

There are there nearly 300 houses or cabins and those who inhabit them are nearly all French. There are a priest and a barn that serves for a church, which, like the priest, is good for nothing. I am assured that the good man is tired of preaching the gospel and parishioners of listening to him too. My own opinion is that some fine morning he will go to preach to them, the (illegible), in short, he won't be the first one. The River Wabash, upon the banks of which the town is built, is very little exposed to overflows and only in the low grounds. The country is very healthy according to all accounts. The doctor, however, told me that six soldiers had had the fever in the great heats, which, however, have moderated, and that there died at the same time very suddenly four sick with the fever. I attribute these sicknesses and deaths quite as much to whiskey as to the soil. Besides in the number

⁵ These observations upon Post Vincennes are in the same little note-book with Dr. Saugrain's account of his stay in Fort Steuben. Probably his informants were some of the passengers who came from Post Vincennes in the boat just mentioned.

Scott's U. S. Gazetteer, 1795, says that Vincennes contains about 200 indifferent wooden houses, that the inhabitants are mostly of French extraction, that the lands in general are rich and that grapes grow spontaneously, of which is made a pleasant red wine.

For the origin of the name see The New International Encyclopedia under Vincennes.

of 200 soldiers it is not surprising that four of them have died.

The climate is perhaps that which approaches nearest that of Paris except that the cold is greater. If you can trust their thermometer, which may be defective, it goes down to twenty degrees Réaumer. It rains there less than in Paris. The vegetation is wonderfully forward: the lands are excellent: they are prairies, very fine, which is a very great advantage for having cattle fat and in abundance. Clearing is easy there: there are no trees to be cut down, or very few; it is even a disadvantage for one is sometimes obliged to go a league to get some. It is also advantageous to settle upon the bank of the Wabash, because wood comes to your door, and one has a great quantity of it for six or seven skins,⁹ which will be explained in the end to dull curiosity. The danger from Indians is nothing according to what they say. As for me, I should not wish to have a house more than a mile or two from the town and to have two good neighbors. It is very hard to bring here by land goods etc. from the Falls for the road does not let them pass save with great difficulty. By water it is easy enough and a boat, quite large, with six oars comes up-stream with ease enough. Living is very dear there and a fowl is worth as much as a dollar piastre, and everything in proportion. Judge of the want of industry of the inhabitants: thus they pass for the idlest of all America. So a man thinks himself happy there when he has a carbine, two pounds of powder and balls in proportion.

Nearly all the inhabitants pass their time in the chase and in the woods and the rest do just enough to live, what do I say? just enough not to die of hunger. A crop of Indian corn is the only grain they raise, although wheat grows exceedingly well, but its culture demands some care. All the gardens, that is to say, all of them which are cultivated, for they do not lack size, could dance in the Tuileries. The vine grows excellently, as also in Illinois, where they make wine, in small quantity it is true, but in

⁹ I am not aware that Dr. Shagran has anywhere mentioned the use of skins as currency, save in this instance.

a very funny manner. They go into the woods to gather the grapes which are found on vines encircling the trees, and an indifferent sort of wine is made. In Paris, idleness charming in its ease, if you live in America!

As wheat is not cultivated, flour is very dear and costs six dollars a hundred-weight. The houses of the French are not in their structure like those of the American for in these last are only logs of wood placed one upon another. The French make mortices and adjust each piece of timber and fill up the rest with earth, and straw or dry hay etc. The inhabitants speak French badly, nothing surprising. There are two or three sites for water-mills, but there is only one horse-mill and it does not work. Here men and women wear for head-dress handkerchiefs, thus they don't use much powder or many hats. Shoes are very dear—but they wear them little—as well as other things used for clothing. They are no better supplied with linen than most Americans. There is found quite a large number of families mixed with Indians; this is not the best thing, although it is not a great evil. The houses are surrounded with palings. It takes three years for the peach to bear. If one wishes to have peach, apple or other fruit-trees he must bring them. Horses are quite rare and dear. Cattle are not so in the neighborhood of the Falls and from there one must get them. They can be had for eight or ten dollars nearly and even cheaper. Butter is worth six, seven and eight sous a pound and board costs two dollars and a half a week. Coffee and tea are the two best articles. Sugar also, but only in the winter, for they make a great quantity of it at the beginning of spring, and I find it very good. The tree which, as they say, gives a sort of coffee resembles much the locust or species of acacia. They say that in some degree it supplies the place of coffee of the Isles. I am not in condition to judge, considering the season, but I have with me a specimen of bean they have given me.

III.

DIARY OF JOURNEY FROM LOUISVILLE TO PHILADELPHIA.

MAY 11, 1788. Set out from the Falls at 3 o'clock, May 11, 1788. We have made 12 miles. The lands are quite good and seem to me easy to clear, as the trees are small. Col. Blaine, my travelling companion, is a little ill. God grant that he may be well to-morrow, for if he falls ill, I shall be obliged to return to Louisville and take the boats which are soon to go up. I fear much for them for there are a great number of Indians along the Ohio and I learned yesterday that a boat had been taken by the savages. There were eight persons aboard and it was laden with whiskey and flour. The Indians broke open and pulled in pieces the barrels they could not carry away. As for ourselves we have seen no traces of Indians. To-morrow we have a hard day's journey to make, and the day after one still worse, considering the distance of settlements and the number of Indians who (a few words illegible) they say are hereabout.

12th. I arrived at Bardstown¹⁰ a little fatigued in consequence of our having made 30 miles to-day. I can say nothing of the town; it is night, and I put off till to-morrow speaking to you about it. The road is broad and quite pretty; had it not rained so long I believe it would have been charming. The settlements are quite distant from one another and some are very pretty. At one o'clock we crossed Salt River. It is not broad, but is very deep. There are two ferries or "bacs" to cross it. It abounds in fish and yet the ferryman confessed to us that he had not fished at night. Three miles from the ferry are salt springs which furnish a great quantity of salt. They are dangerous and the savages come often to visit them and it is rare that they do not meet someone, whom they kill if they can. At present all the plantations I have seen are put to barley.

13th. The town of Bardstown is not very large; there are, however, two or three stone houses and a court-house now building, which will be handsome and large and must

¹⁰ At first called Bairdstown from its founder, David Baird.

cost very dear. I judged from this that the people of the place love lawsuits. We set out from Bardstown at 10 o'clock and arrived in Danville¹¹ (denvil) at seven in the evening, 43 miles. The road is generally very bad, which is perhaps due only to the rain and to the goodness of the lands, which are excellent. There are few settlements along the road. We went a little from our way to see some of them, and I saw two which were extraordinary each in its own way. One of them has a spring four or five steps from the settler's house, which gives a considerable quantity of water, and a canal, producing a charming effect. The other spring issues from a cavern big enough to hold seven or eight persons, flows the space of 30 feet, and sinks again into the ground, coming out afterward some distance off, where it falls into a small creek. These two springs are never dry. We passed one of the branches of Salt River. There is no ferry, it is forded. The number of creeks and brooks I crossed on the road is quite large, but I think that in dry times the greater part have no water or very little. I expect to remain to-morrow at Danville.

Of the 14th. Danville is not large; there is nothing remarkable except a little river that abounds in fish; it is named Dick's River. No stone houses are built here. It has just rained considerably. We set out about four o'clock, and we went six miles into a very charming settlement as to the people who inhabit it. There is little land cleared, but below the house is a superb creek which turns five or six millstones. There are also in the neighborhood three or four springs which never dry up and this is the finest land in the world. We have rejoined here Mr. Blaine's son, who is going to return with us as far as Limestone. I think the young ladies will accompany us as far as Lexington (lexenetone) where we shall go in two days, Col. Blaine having business on the way. These two ladies are very pretty and come from Philadelphia. I believe they will return at the fall of the leaves.

Of the 15th. This morning a great number of people passed through here. They have come by boat, by land

¹¹ So called from its founder, Walker Daniel.

etc. There will be about fifty of them, and they are nearly all armed; thus they have no fear of Indians. There have just arrived two men from Richmond (richemone) overland. There were seven of them when they left Richmond. They were attacked on the way by savages. One was killed. They separated and the four others have not yet arrived. God grant the Indians have not entrapped them! We set out at two o'clock. I saw some superb country. We crossed Kentucky (Kuintuke) River at the close of day. The banks of this river are piles of rock extraordinarily high, at least in the neighborhood of the place where we crossed. They say that everywhere its banks are as high. We lodged three miles beyond.

Of the 16th. At one o'clock we arrived at Lexington,¹³ the capital of Kentucky. This city is not large, but it is the largest in the country. It is quite pleasantly situated. There are several springs that afford excellent water. I have noticed that, generally speaking, this country is well watered. We found ourselves present at the time for holding court, which brings in quite a large number of people. I think we shall remain here two days, and shall use two days in getting to Limestone.

Of the 17th. The weather is good, the rain has ceased, that is to say, there has been none since one o'clock and they say they have never seen such rainy weather as this. There is this year a surprising number of caterpillars. They have stripped all the sugar maples of leaves; they have touched hardly any other tree. It is thought, however, that this will cause little harm. It would be a great loss if this tree should die. It furnishes sugar to a great part of the inhabitants. There is a little less idleness here than elsewhere. They much wish that I should remain here a few days to examine a mine which is found some 30 miles from Lexington; it is a lead mine; it is believed to contain much silver. I should like to have a specimen of it, but if the thing is not impossible, at least it is very difficult, for there is but one person of this town who has any from

¹³ Settled in 1779, though the site was named four years before in commemoration of the battle of Lexington, Mass.

the mine and he is absent. I am going to get letters at Mr. Wilkinson's (Wilqueson) (Here a few illegible words).

Of the 18th. Remain in Lexington.

Of the 19th. Set out at seven o'clock. We got to Bourbon¹³ at eleven o'clock; we departed thence and made only five miles. We passed the night in that place, because Col. Blaine had business.

Of the 20th. We set out at three o'clock. We dined at Blue Lick (Saline bleu). It is a very extraordinary thing to see eight or ten feet apart two springs, one of which is very salt, the other fresh. A great quantity of salt is made here by evaporating the water. It takes as many as 1000 gallons to make a bushel of it. It sells on the spot at two dollars a bushel. They evaporate the water in kettles. They purposed to evaporate a great quantity of it at once, but it did not succeed and the joinings of the pipes was the sole cause. Here is the design after a fashion.¹⁴

From Blue Lick we went to a little town four miles from Limestone Creek. This town is quite large; it is called Washington (Wagentone). From there we went to Limestone, whence I intend to depart to-morrow, seeing that the boats have arrived from the Falls. They have met with no accident along the route.

21st. We set out at three o'clock in a boat which goes as far as Muskingum, laden with goods for the Indians, who come together there to make a treaty.¹⁵ We go in company with another boat that goes as far as Fort Pitt, and I think I shall take it at Muskingum, and two dugouts. We are in all 68 armed men and 49 who are not. Thus we have nothing to fear from Indians.

22d. Nothing new. We make short progress in a day; the current is very strong; it is very rainy.

23d. To-day we have met seven boats bound for Limestone. There is no danger for them.

¹³ In Bourbon Co., Ky. It was first called Hopewell, then Bourbontown, finally Paris.

¹⁴ Here in the original is a little sketch looking quite like the boiler and smokestack of a locomotive engine.

¹⁵ This treaty was concluded January 9th of the next year, 1789.

24th. It rains hard and we are very uncomfortable. I think we shall arrive to-morrow at Big Kanawha (big-canaoue).

25th. I thought to arrive to-day, but the weather has been very bad.

26th. We arrived at seven o'clock in the evening at Big Kanawha, a new place in a charming situation, but very dangerous from Indians. A month ago they killed two whites and eight days ago two whites killed four savages. It is always so much the less. These savages crossed the River Kanawha on a raft. They were stealing horses. One was killed on the raft, the others then threw themselves into the river. They were killed without trouble.

27th. We have remained all day at the Kanawha.

28th. We set out at ten o'clock and have seen nothing remarkable.

29th. We have met four boats which are going to Kentucky, and we passed the night at a new establishment some distance from the Little Kanawha. To-morrow we shall be at Muskingum.

30th. We arrived this evening at Muskingum, where I intend to remain five or six days. There are no savages here just now. Those who came went home to plant corn. They were about 100 in number and will come back in six weeks, the time for which the treaty is fixed. This city¹⁶ will be charming, considering the number of inhabitants who are to come to inhabit it. It is the finest situation I have thus far seen for founding a city.

31st. I dined to-day at Genl. Harmar's, who seems to me to be an agreeable man. He has been in France and I have already told you all the etc. I intended going to see the ruin of an old fort to be found a mile from here, but we remained too long at table. The party is put over until to-morrow. I crossed the river to see an establishment just forming. I have also seen the surveyors, who by order have drawn the lines both of the town and of the farms. This place is superb, and one day perhaps this will be the largest city of America. A single objection is the lack of

¹⁶ Marietta.

water on the farms, for the town has enough, but it will be supplied from wells, which here furnish excellent water.

I remained eight days at Muskingum, and I departed on the 9th (of June). We stopped the 12th at McIntosh (maquintoche). It is an old American fort. It is nearly all in ruins. There are an officer and 12 or 13 men. This fort is situated at the mouth of the Big Beaver. Nothing of note happened to us on our way to Fort Pitt, where I arrived in quite good health. I arrived in Fort Pitt June 17th and I left it July 11th at four o'clock in the afternoon. We were a company of three, to wit, my companion in misery, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Brason, who is the postmaster of Philadelphia and who came to establish a post-office. He brought me news of you. This, though old, gave me great satisfaction. He was directed by Dr. Franklin to give me money if I was at Pittsburgh, or to send me some if I was still in Kentucky (quintoque), or if in short I was heard from etc. We passed the night at James Miers¹⁷ 12 miles from Pittsburgh. The road was practicable, which was quite a surprise, considering the rain which has been considerable for nearly two months through the whole of America, which has never before happened according to all the settlers.

The 12th. (July) We set out from James Miers' at three o'clock in the morning. We accomplished only 22 miles to a place called Greensburg (griene bourg), where we came at eleven o'clock in the morning. It is a very small town and yet the seat of government, where assemble the magistrates of all the county. Curiosity, I think, caused me to be invited into different places, for generally these inhabitants are not very hospitable.

The 13th. I arrive very much fatigued. We have made 40 miles, which is very much, considering the terrible rains which have fallen these nights, and more than a third of the day my foot has pained me much. I made a little incision in it this morning before starting; it bled a good deal. I was not, however, much disturbed. It has troubled me very much that after five months it is not yet cured.

¹⁷ Perhaps this is Dr. Saugrain's French equivalent for the English Mears.

a kind found not only in the town, but also in the neighborhood, and the industry here is remarkable. They make gunpowder, very good according to what they say, which sells at only half a dollar a pound. It is very doubtful if we shall go to-morrow as far as Carlisle, although the road is not long. It rained all day and night and consequently we should not fail to have a bad road. I have been told there has been here little rain this summer, as also in this vicinity.

The 17th. They are mistaken whoever they may be and here is the proof of it. The roads are quite practicable and we arrived in Shippensburg (chiperbourge) in very good time, where we had breakfast and we got to Carlisle at five o'clock in the evening. This town is quite large. There are here quite large magazines belonging to the United States of America, and arms were made here in war times. This town is famous just now by the dissensions of its inhabitants, a part of whom are for the new constitution and a part do not wish to have it. We met on the road a large number of wagons which carry families to Fort Pitt, whence they will take boats to go to Muskingum.

The 18th. We set out this morning from Carlisle and at noon we crossed the River Susquehanna. It is of considerable breadth, half a mile lacking four fathoms. We made 44 miles and to-morrow we shall go to Lancaster to breakfast. We passed through two towns but I shall give you only their names, they are of little consequence; one is called Elizabethtown and the other Middletown. My foot has given me much trouble. I give it to all the devils and may they carry it off, is what I wish for it: so may it be! I did not see Lancaster in my journey to Pittsburgh. I am pleased to be about to see it. I am told it is a beautiful town.

The 19th. I have seen Lancaster; it is a charming town and quite large. Though having no communication with any river, it is quite commercial. This town is almost entirely inhabited by Germans. It is in this town that the best rifles are made. Nearly all America makes much of them. In this place a prodigious number of them is

made. The court-house is very fine, as also several churches. I cannot give you a long description of them, for I was there only two hours. We sleep 37 miles from Lancaster.

The 20th. At last here I am in Philadelphia and the first thing I did was to repair to Dr. Franklin; him I found sick and for 23 days he has not been out of his bed. He arose to receive me. He has shown me much attention and has much commiserated me. He has offered me all possible help. He finds himself much better and has invited me to dinner to-morrow at his house. I shall not fail, although I am quite ill with my foot and have no change of clothes.

EARLY SOUTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS.

BY GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

The earliest news publication of which we know, printed in South America, was issued to supply the popular demand for information regarding the capture of the English free-booter, Richard Hawkins, and his ship, *The Dainty*, off the Peruvian coast in 1594, just ten years after the printing-press began its work at Lima. It was a quarter century later when the publication of occasional news-sheets, the forerunners of the modern "Extra," began to become more or less regular. In 1620 appeared an "Account of important events in Peru," and in the year following "News from Castille, which arrived in October of the present year 1621," and "Summary of the News from the Court, with the Beginning of the New Reign of his Catholic Majesty, our Sovereign King Philip the Fourth."

The printer of these two news-sheets of 1621 was Jeronimo de Contreras, the founder of a printing office from which was issued most of the published South American news of the next hundred years. Contreras had been established at Seville in Spain, where he issued in 1618-19 a volume of the writings of a Franciscan brother then recently returned from Peru. Two years later the printer's name appeared for the first time on a book dated at Lima. The new-comer promptly allied himself with the family of the principal rival craftsman, and within a short time acquired a recognized position as the leading printer in the South American metropolis. In 1641 he was succeeded by his son, José, who maintained the family establishment until 1688. His son, of the same name, began to issue books over his own name in 1686. He seems to have been the most

successful of the family, and for more than twenty years, until 1712, he conducted the only printing office in the country. He monopolized the very profitable business of printing the primers used in the local schools, obtained the appointment as Royal Printer by decree of the Spanish Crown, as printer to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to the Tribunal de Cruzada, and to the University of San Marcos. José de Contreras y Alvarado, in addition to his business occupations, appears to have attended to the editing of the paper which he published, and he was a frequent writer of verse. In 1713 he was succeeded by his brother Jeronimo, who had been associated with the business since 1677, and who continued it until 1720, when the last book recorded as bearing the family name appeared.

Throughout a considerable part of this century, it is probable that the news of the day, or more accurately of the month, was published from the Contreras press with approximate regularity, the issues possessing the essential characteristics of a newspaper, as distinguished from the occasional extra or news-sheet. They usually appeared about once a month, as a small-quarto, single-fold, four-page paper, wretchedly printed in small type. The news was presented in the form of a diary, made up from day to day, and printed without revision or reference to paragraphs of later date, however pertinent to the event. Births and deaths and robberies, a play at the palace, a disaster in the frontier Indian wars, a fire in the slums, or a raid by the English pirates, mingle together in that curious way that events have, in this world of every day life, of occurring quite regardless of human convenience or notions of relative importance.

Besides these regular monthly issues of the news-letter, chiefly made up of local South American news, extras containing the latest foreign advices were usually issued as soon as possible after the arrival at the vice-regal capital of the messengers charged with the important mission of conveying the dispatch-boxes in which were locked the royal orders and instructions, the public and private correspondence, the communications from the officials of the

religious orders, and the bundle of Madrid and Seville newspapers. These papers furnished the basis for an abstract of European news, occasionally supplemented by the reprinting of an entire paper, when some single event claimed a monopoly of current interest.

The knowledge of these South American newspaper publications, in this part of the world, is derived from three sources, two of which seem to place us in a position of peculiar advantage. The Lenox Library in New York and the John Carter Brown Library in Providence each possesses a consecutive series of Lima papers, the first for the years 1700 to 1711, and the other for 1743 to 1763. That there may be other similar series is probable, but nothing at all comparable to either was known to the third source of information, Sr. José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en Lima*.

This work, which appeared in 1904, is a descriptive bibliography of 1264 publications printed in the Peruvian capital between 1584 and 1767. It is a masterpiece of literary, historical, biographical and bibliographical research, and fully establishes the position of its author as the only rival, on either continent, to Sr. Garcia Icazbalceta, who has long been recognized as the most scholarly of American bibliographers. The work on the Lima press is only one of Sr. Medina's publications, which include a number of reprints of important early books, historical records, a series of volumes on the Inquisition in America, six large volumes of descriptive bibliography of Spanish Americana, three on Chilean books, three on the Philippines, an elaborate study of the press in the Argentine countries, and a series of smaller volumes devoted to the history of printing in Mexico and in the lesser Spanish American cities.

Sr. Medina lists some forty news-sheets known to him which were issued during the century preceding 1720, the period of the Contreras press, of which only one is in the decade covered by the Lenox Library volume. This most interesting volume contains the series, apparently complete with the exception of one possible break of five months, March to August, in 1705, of the news-sheets, numbering in all 102 separate issues, which were published

by Contreras during the years 1700 to 1711. With them are bound a dozen pamphlets issued from the same press, mostly publications commemorating special events which demanded a fuller account than could be compressed into the four pages of the newspaper. Seven of these are new titles, not known to Sr. Medina. They give the funeral sermon in memory of King Charles II., of Spain, a treatise on the various armorial bearings of the viceroys of Peru, a reprint of the rules promulgated in Spain for the identification of houses occupied by malcontents, the ceremonies attendant on the arrival of a new viceroy in 1707, an account of the sources and probable truth of the rumour that the Queen was enceinte, followed six months later by the even more joyful news of the birth of a Prince.

These pamphlets are inserted in their proper places, with reference to the dates of their publication, between the issues of the newspaper, and the whole series was bound with a special title page:

Diarios, y memorias de los sucessos principales, y noticias mas sobresalientes en esta Ciudad de Lima, Corte del Perú. desde 17. del mes de Mayo del Año de 1700. hasta fines de Diziembre de 1711. Con las que se han recibido por Cartas, y Gazetas, de Europa en el mismo tiempo.—Con licencia del real gouierno. En Lima, Por Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, Impressor Real.

Throughout the volume, many of the typographical errors and misstatements are corrected by pen, a type-line which had been omitted by the printer when the form was made ready for the press is supplied in manuscript, and there are other signs which give rise to the suggestion that this volume may have been put together, with a specially printed title leaf, by the printer, publisher or editor in order to preserve his file of the papers.

These *Diarios* or *Noticias* continued to appear for another decade or more, and then, a few years after the disappearance of the Contreras firm which had for so long been responsible for their publication, the regular issues ceased. A revival took place at the beginning of the year 1744,

✠

G A Z E T A

DE LIMA.

DESDE PRIMERO DE DICIEMBRE DE
1743. Hasta 18. de Enero de 1744

JOHN CARTER BROWN



S la Gazeta vna breve historia de los sucesos, en que inmediata, y progresivamente se expareen las noticias: Es vn sumario de las novedades, con que se establece, y cultiva la policia de las gentes; resultando muchas vezes la comun uti-

lidad de esta politica invencion; porque mediante ella circulan por el cuerpo del mundo racional las noticias de los acaesimientos; y sin el costo de los viages, ni el afan de los correspondientes, se adelanta el Comercio de las mas sobresalientes novedades.

La voz Gazeta, la tomamos del Italiano, en cuyo Idioma significa, relacion, ò sumario, que sale à luz todas las semanas, ò meses. En Francia se les dà à estos papeles el nombre de Diarios, ò Jornales, y en Holanda el de Mercurios destinanse à lo mismo, y son como vnos espíritus politicos, q animan las Republicas.

En todas las Cortes, y grandes Ciudades de la Europa esta establecido indefectiblemente el vfo de las Gazetas, y Mercurios; y en nuestra America, lo practica la gran Ciudad de Mexico, Capital del Reyno de la
nueva

and was maybe brought about by the popular excitement over a scandalous robbery of the jewels from one of the Lima churches, the details of which, with the account of the apprehension and execution of the thief, furnish the larger part of the contents of the first issue of the new paper. This was now given a definite name, *Gazeta de Lima*, and the successive issues were numbered consecutively, for twelve years. In 1756 a new editorial management tried the experiment of numbering the issues of each year separately, but after three years' trial, this plan was abandoned, when the paper again changed hands. The new consecutive series ran from 1759 until 1762, in which year there was another change in the management, and the paper began to be published at a press which seems to have had the newspaper work as its principal business. This office issued at least twenty-nine numbers of the *Gazeta*, the last one of which a copy is known, being dated on the 31st of July, 1767, embodying the news from the preceding March 26. The *Gazeta* was throughout its career much less regular than the less pretentious Contreras papers. It came out usually about once every two months, at varying intervals which reflect the shifting prosperity and the political or religious activity of the community.

Of the *Gazeta*, Sr. Medina describes fourteen issues and notes a reference to two others. The volume in the John Carter Brown Library, of which a detailed description, with a facsimile of the first issue, has recently been printed by that library, contains eighty-two issues, of which only seven are among the sixteen known to Sr. Medina. Altogether there were at least a hundred and forty-six numbers of the *Gazeta* published, of which ninety-one are still in existence, and of these seventy-five are known only from the copies in Providence. Undoubtedly many more of these South American papers have survived and are now hidden away in other libraries not examined by Sr. Medina.

It is hoped that by calling attention to the interest there is in them, information may be secured which will make possible the preparation of a more adequate account of the development of newspaper publication in colonial Spanish America.

LIST OF NEWS SHEETS¹

Printed at Lima in Peru, 1621-1767, recorded in J. T. Medina's *La Imprenta en Lima*, Santiago de Chile, 1904.

1621

Nuevas de Castilla, venidas por Octubre.
Sumario de las nuevas de la Corte.

1622

Nuevas generales, 22 Octubre, 1621 hasta 18 Março.

1625

Verdadera relacion de las admirables vitorias que an sucedido, el año pasado.

1626

Relacion verdadera, de todo el daño que causó las crecientes del rio Guadalquivir.
Nuevas de Castilla.
Insigne y celebre vitoria, en los Estados de Flandes.
Relacion de la batalla, con las armadas de Olanda è Inglaterra, en el estrecho de Ormuz.
Sucessos de Cadiz y entrada del enemigo Olandes en su Baia.

1630

Provisiones nuevas de 1629-1630. Va assimismo en esta Relacion, lo restante hasta 8. de Abril deste año.
Dos relaciones verdaderas. Vitoria . . contra dos naos de Turcos cosarios.

1631

Relacion de la vitoria, en Chile, 13 Henero 1631.

1633

Relacion de la iornada, al socorro del Brasil.

1641

Quarto pliego del estado en que estan las cosas de Portugal.

1643

Diario verdadera relacion de todo lo sucedido en Espana, Flandes, Italia, y Francia, desde los fines de 1641 hasta 1643.
Relacion verdadera de todo lo sucedido en España, Francia, Inglaterra, Flandes, Alemania, y demas partes de la Europa.

1644

Relacion verdadera de todo lo sucedido en España, y otros partes.
Sumario de lo sucedido en Europa desde Mayo de 1641 hasta el de 1643.

¹Information regarding any news publications not included in this list is greatly desired by the Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

1672

Relacion de todo lo sucedido en Europa hasta el lunes 21. de Setiembre de 671.

1680

Novedades en continuacion de la relacion desde 25 Agosto 1679.

Relacion de las novedades que Juan Peres de Amecaga, Agente de negocios del R. Consejo de las Indias, ha sacado para sus amigos de su diario, sucedidas desde 14 Julio 1678, que salieron a nauegar Galeones para Tierra Firme, y Flota para Nueva España.

Relacion de la armada, al oposito de los Piratas Franceses y Ingleses.

1684

Carta y noticia que participo el Governador de Baldivia al Presidente de Chile.

1685

Noticias del Sur. Despacho y felises sucesos de la Armada de 1685.

1687

Novedades que se han ofrecido desde 23 Junio 1686 hasta ultimos de Febrero de 1687.

1688

Noticias del Sur continuadas desde 6 Noviembre 1685 hasta Junio de 1688.

Ultimas noticias del Sur, y felises operaciones contra Piratas.

1691

Copia de carta, dando cuenta de la muerte del duque de la Palata en Portobelo.

1695

Noticias de Europa que se han resivido por diferentes cartas de la Nueva España y Guatemala, traydas en el Aviso que llegó a la Vera Cruz, y en los Navios de registro de Honduras.

La relacion siguiente impressa en España se ha buuelto a reimprimir en Lima, en la misma forma que llegó a ella. Añadense los sucessos ultimos de Europa.

1696

Noticias de España, que vinieron en el aviso que salio de Cadix a 7 de Junio de 1696 y llegó a esta Ciudad a 30 de Octubre.

1698

Relacion de las noticias generales, que han llegado en los dos Avisos, el primero por Tierra Firme a 26 de Octubre; el segundo por la via de Buenos Aires a 1 de Noviembre de 98, y se han sacado de diferentes papeles impresos, y Cartas de Europa, siendo las ultimas fechas de Madrid de Abril de 98.



GAZETA DE LIMA

QUE CONTIENE LAS NOTI.

cias de esta Capital desde 25. de Septiembre
hasta fin de Octubre de 1745.

LA ESCASEZ QUE SE EXPERIMENTA EN ESTA CAPITAL, de aquellas novedades, que to lo bien considerado caben en la Gazeta, es tanta à vezes, que no permite el formarla con suficiente cuerpo; principalmente despues de los repetidos avisos que nos han venido, tanto de adentro, como de fuera, de desahogar de ella algunos acontecimientos de poco, ó a ningun importe para las Provincias, aunque de algun valor, para los que viven en esta Corte, y que por esto mismo los hacen mas à tiempo; y de abreviar otros
Lott.

1699

Noticias generales de Europa, sacadas de varias gasetas, y papeles, impresos en Madrid, sus fechas desde 15 Julio de 98 hasta 10 Marzo de 1699.

Relacion del espantoso terremoto que padecio esta Ciudad de los Reyes [Lima], 14 Julio 1699.

1711

Diario de noticias sobresalientes de Lima desde 13 Septiembre hasta 15 Noviembre.

1715

Gazeta reimpressa en Lima, de las novedades mas sobresalientes de Europa, del mes de Febrero de 1715.

1723

Memorias y noticias de los sucesos mas sobresalientes de Lima en estos ultimos meses hasta fines del mes de Octubre de 1723.

1724

Memorias y noticias de los sucesos, en los fines del Año pasado y principios del presente de 1724.

1725

Relacion y diario de las operaciones del Navio, que salió en demanda del Navio Frances y de mas extranjeros de ilícito Comercio.

1743

Breve relacion del aplauso conque Lima ha celebrado la llegada de las Bullas Originales de su Arzobispo.

1744

Gaceta de Lima, 1 Diciembre 1743-18 Enero 1744.

1746

Individual y Verdadera Relacion de la extrema ruyna que padeció Lima, con el horrible temblór de tierra.

Desolacion de Lima, y Dilubio del Puerto del Callao. Cérrose esta relacion en 6 de Noviembre.

1749

Gazeta, hasta 24 Febrero.

1750

Relacion y verdadero romance que declara la inconsiderada y atrevida Sublevacion que intentaban hazer los indios mal acordados y algunos Mestizos en Lima.

Segunda parte en que se refieren los Sucessos que acaecieron en el levantamiento de los Indios.

1751

Gazeta, num. 21; 24 Agosto-14 Octubre.

1755

Gazeta, num. 47; 14 Abril-8 Junio.

1756

Gazeta, num. 6; 7 Noviembre-fines de Diciembre.

1761

Gazeta, num. 15; 10 Diciembre-27 Enero.

1762

Gazeta, num. 2; 10 Octubre-3 Diciembre.

1763

Gazeta, num. 4; 20 Enero-30 Marzo.

Gazeta, num. 5; 30 Marzo-20 Mayo.

Gazeta, num. 6; 20 Mayo-12 Julio.

1765

Gazeta, num. 15; 4 Diciembre-28 Enero.

Gazeta, num. 17; 24 Marzo-17 Mayo.

Gazeta, num. 18; 18 Mayo-4 Julio.

Gazeta, num. 19; 4 Julio-28 Agosto.

1766

Gazeta, num. 25; 16 Junio-6 Agosto.

1767

Gazeta, num. 29; 26 Marzo-31 Julio.

"UNCLE SAM"—A Postscript.

BY ALBERT MATTHEWS.

At page 60 of my paper on "Uncle Sam,"¹ it was stated that "the earliest known example of Uncle Sam is from a Troy paper, but *without* reference to Samuel Wilson." That example occurred in the *Troy Post* of September 7, 1813 (see page 32, above). Since my paper was written, Miss Jessie F. Wheeler of the Troy Public Library has sent me two very interesting extracts from Troy newspapers of a later date. The following, taken from the *Gazette of the United States* of Philadelphia, appeared in the *Troy Post* of August 20, 1816:

"'Uncle Sam's Pedigree.'—Uncle Sam is a cant phrase, significant of the United States, as John Bull signifies England. The origin of it seems to be this: In the year 1807, there was authorized by law, the raising of a regiment of Light Dragoons. The initial letters U.S.L.D. were painted on their caps, meaning the United States Light Dragoons. A countryman passing by, inquired of a by-stander what they were, and received for an answer, 'they are UNCLE SAM'S LAZY DOGS, don't you see it on their caps?' This story soon got amongst the soldiers, and they have ever since denominated the United States Uncle Sam." (p. 3-4).

The other extract, taken from the *Albany Gazette*, was printed in the *Troy Post* of August 19, 1817:

"'Uncle Sam'—This expression, which originated during the war, from the initials 'U. S.' on the soldiers' knapsacks, has come into general use. The Indians at the west, from hearing it often used, have imbibed the idea that it is actually the name of the president; and while at Sacketts' Harbor, a considerable number of Indians and Squaws crowded around

¹Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, Vol. XIX., Part I, P. 21, April, 1908.

the president, wishing, as they expressed it, 'to shake hands with UNCLE SAM.'" (p. 3-3).

We have, then, within a period of four years (1813-1817) no fewer than three accounts in the Troy newspapers of the origin of Uncle Sam, and in none is there any allusion to the Samuel Wilson story. It is difficult to believe that had the Wilson story then been in existence it would have escaped the attention of the editor of the *Troy Post*.

Moreover, the first of the new extracts is interesting as corroborating the statement made on page 63 that "there is nothing in the least unusual or remarkable in the process of abbreviating a term and then expanding it." For we find, as early as 1816, the initials "U.S.L.D." expanded into "United States Lazy Dogs."

Curiously enough, just as these extracts reach me from Miss Wheeler, I have myself run across a rather remarkable example of the same process. In 1841 the Rev. William L. McCalla, a Presbyterian clergyman and a native of Kentucky, published at Philadelphia a book called "Adventures in Texas, chiefly in the Spring and Summer of 1840; with a Discussion of Comparative Character, Political, Religious and Moral." Mr. McCalla cherished a rooted aversion to the honorary degree of D.D., an aversion which crops out in many places. Its most singular manifestation occurs in the following passage.

"But to secure the full benefit of it, the title ought to be fully written out, and fairly translated, like the Scriptures, or the common people will be in perpetual perplexity about the meaning of D.D., as they are about the letters O. K. in party politics; and they may be as capricious in changing the meaning. At first, O. K. was General Jackson's seal of approbation upon all that his successor did; and afterward, when that successor was removed from office, O. K. was turned wrong end foremost, and interpreted '*kicked out*.' As D.D. is given to many ecclesiastics who are wrong end foremost, that title also is subject to the same vicissitude, unless its meaning is fixed, like the Hebrew words, by punctuarian additions.

"Those who know a clergyman to be irritable from disease, might mistake D.D. to mean a Dumpish Dyspeptic; those who know that he has resorted too much to brandy for a cure,

might think that it meant a Dram Drinker. Knowing as well as the above quoted biographer, that juvenility, ignorance, weakness, duplicity, cowardice, and ambition, are their most prominent characteristics, others may be in danger of interpreting the D.D. as meaning Diffuse Declaimer, Dismal Dreamer, Dull Discipline, Dizzy Dolt, Dastardly Drone, or Dare Devil, Double Dealer, or Dumb Dog; the latter of which is a scriptural title, exceedingly suitable to those who are for letting error die a natural death.

"To all such, a D.D. may be of service, as a vote and an office in an Old-school Presbyterian Church, are of service to Universalists and Papists, swearers, liars and Sabbath-breakers, gamblers and drunkards.

"If the gallows had its due, a D.D. might occasionally be found, which some might interpret *DUPLICITER DAMNATUS*, or *doubly doomed*, to be excluded from the company of popes, priests and nuns in purgatory.

"But most people prefer explaining a D.D. to mean *DULCE DONUM*, a *sweet bribe*, which, like the *REGIUM DONUM*, the *Bait of John Bull*, is intended to catch such gudgeons as may be gulled in that way" (pp. 120, 121).

LAND TITLES OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

ERRATUM.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

In tracing back the title of the Society to its original holdings, for a paper read at the meeting on April 24, 1901, I was misled by a local historian, and made Thomas Palmer the grantor to John Chandler, jr. of the Summer street lot. Messrs. Palmer, Oulton and Waldo were the owners of very large tracts in Worcester, but they did not own this. The land which Palmer sold to Chandler was a little to the south of it.

The large farm of Daniel Henschman's heirs was on both sides of Lincoln street, and in tracing subsequently the history of this farm, I found that a part of it, including the first Antiquarian lot, went to John Chandler jr.

My account of the Henschman farm appears in the proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity for December 1902, and gives the story of Henschman and of the partition of his estate among his heirs. I will not recapitulate here.

The Proprietors of Worcester granted to the heirs of Daniel Henschman 104 acres of land on the east side of Millbrook, Oct. 17, 1718, as on page 75 of Proprietors' Records.

Susannah Harris, daughter of pioneer Henschman, conveyed to Rev. Isaac Burr two-sevenths of six hundred acres; (Jan. 20, 1725-6, Book 26-Page 386, Middlesex.) and on a partition among the several owners, (see Book 21, Page 350-355, and Book 46, Pages 298-302 etc; also a Resolve of the General Court confirming the division: all in the Worcester Registry,) the south part was allotted to Burr. Burr sold to Thomas Stearns, May 11, 1731 B2. P. 419. Thomas Stearns sold forty acres including our Summer street lot, to John Chandler jr. Dec. 12, 1733; B. 4. P. 543.

From this point the title passes as given in my former paper. John Chandler by will to his sons, John (the "honest refugee") and Gardiner, and so on as before stated.

**A LIST OF ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR**

**IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY**

**PREPARED FROM THE ORIGINALS
UNDER DIRECTION OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE
BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN**

PREFATORY NOTE.

In the last two numbers of its proceedings this society has published calendars of two groups of manuscripts relating in large part to the last war between the British and French colonies in America. Primarily devoted to the personalities of Sir William Johnson and Col. John Bradstreet the period of time covered by each list has extended beyond 1763 nearly to the American Revolution. The calendar here presented lists such additional manuscripts in the library of the society as relate to the period of the French and Indian war from 1754 to 1763 and that alone. This record therefore does not exhaust the sources here available regarding such men as John Burk or William Henshaw but with the earlier publications which may be profitably used in connection with this issue it covers the last war in which Great Britain and her American colonies fought side by side. As in former issues, whenever practicable, entries for manuscripts have been combined and the size of the list thereby reduced.

Crown Point was not taken from the French until the fall of Ticonderoga necessitated its surrender and the expeditions against this fortress in 1755 and 1759 are the centers about which some of the more noteworthy manuscripts in this collection gather. The efforts to obtain forces and stores for the first attack furnish the theme for the early correspondence between Governor Shirley, Robert Hale and the Colonial Assemblies. A little later the Burk letters and muster rolls as well as other orderly books and diaries and the military papers of William Henshaw lighten a broader field but Crown Point is again the center of action. Some manuscripts, notably the Chronicles of Robert Hale cover the entire period and field of warfare and these furnish a better sense of proportion than

**ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.**

1754. Shirley, W[illiam]. Boston. Commission to John Sept. 10. Burk as Ensign in the Militia Regiment of Col. Israel Williams. Countersigned J[oseph] Willard. D. S. 1p.

1754. Williams, Israel. [Hatfield?] Letter to [John] Sept. 10. Burk. Directions as to guarding Greenfield, Colrain and Fall Town; scouts to be maintained and information forwarded. A. L. S. 1p.

The name Fall Town or Falltown was changed to Bernardstown or Bernardston, Mar. 6, 1762. The name Burk seems to have been changed to Burke by some members of the family after the close of the French war in 1763. The signature appears originally as John Burk and is so retained in this calendar.

1755. Shirley, W[illiam]. Council Chamber. [Boston]. Feb. 13. Message to the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts. Considers the times favorable for an expedition against Crown Point; attention of French divided between Nova Scotia and Ohio country; advantage to New England and New York of holding Crown Point; calls upon the two houses for a generous effort; promises his own regiment and all that he can do as chief executive of colony; suggests a feint attack by the Kennebec or Chaudiere river as likely to divide the French yet further. Cont. Copy in ms. of and attested by Thomas Clarke, Dpty. Secy. 3pp.

Enclosed: Shirley, William. Instructions to Robert Hale, Feb. 22, 1755. Printed under date of Feb. 12 and

with other slight variations: N. H. Prov. Papers. Manchester. 1872, VI, 358; Penna. Col. Records. Harrisburg, 1851. VI. 314.

1755. **Massachusetts, General Court.** [Boston]. Committee report on Messages of Gov. William Shirley with action of General Court thereon. Approve plan in messages of Feb. 13 and 15 for erecting fortress near Crown Point: consider an army of 5000 necessary for expedition: recommend that Governor request aid from other colonies in following proportion: New Hampshire 400, Connecticut 1000, Rhode Island 400 and New York 800 men: request employment of regiments of Shirley and [Sir William] Pepperrell: provisions for enlistment and pay for 1200 men from Massachusetts: application to be made to New Jersey for men; Gov. Shirley to appoint commander-in-chief and to notify British Government. "By Order J[ohn] Osborne." Report approved by House of Representatives, "T[homas] Hubbard, Spkr." and by Council, "Thomas Clarke Dpty. Secy." Cont. Copy in ms. of and attested by Clarke. 3pp.

Enclosed: Shirley, William. Instructions to Robert Hale Feb. 22. 1755. Printed with slight changes N. H. Prov. Papers. Manchester 1872, VI. 359. Pa. Col. Records, Harrisburg 1851. VI. 316.

1755. Shirley, William]. Boston, Mass. To Robert Hale. Commissions Hale in the name of Massachusetts to apply to the Government of New Hampshire for aid in promoting the expedition [against Crown Point] approved by the Council and House of Representatives: will give more explicit instructions as to method of procedure. By His Excellency's Command. J[osiah] Ward. Seal. D. S. 1p.

1755. Shirley, William]. Boston. To Robert Hale. Commissions for soliciting the Government of

New Hampshire to unite with Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut in an expedition against Crown Point: Is to present Shirley's message to Mass. Assembly [Feb. 13] and reply of that body [Feb. 18] to authorities of New Hampshire and urge coöperation; if colony will not agree to terms set forth in above documents Hale is to ascertain how much it will do and reasons for non agreement with plans as made; [Feb. 27.] report to be made at Boston. P. S. Encloses vote of [Mass.] Assembly of Feb. 27 to be used if a larger number of men can be obtained thereby. L. S. with autograph postscript. 2pp.

1755. Shirley, [W[illiam]. Boston. Letter to Gov. [Ben-
Feb. 25. ning Wentworth] of New Hampshire. Attitude of the French toward the English colonies in America; measures of retaliation authorized by the London government; proposed movements outlined in writer's message to the Massachusetts Assembly and reply received; encloses copies of these documents and Robert Hale will give further explanations if desired. L. S. 6pp.

In Sir William Johnson Mss. See also Message of Shirley of Feb. 13 and action on same Feb. 18 ante.

1755. Massachusetts, General Court. [Boston]. Vote
Feb. 27. regarding Crown Point Expedition. In case Governments of New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut consent to proposed expedition against Crown Point desire Gov. [William Shirley] to issue proclamation for raising 4000 men as quota of Massachusetts; New York to be relied on for 800 men or proportionate share of provisions and other war stores in default of men; upon issuance of proclamation oath of secrecy removed from members of Assembly. "T[homas] Hubbard Spkr." "In Council—read and concurred Thomas Clarke Dpty. Secy.

Consented to W[illiam] Shirley." Cont. Copy in ms. of and attested by Clarke. 1p.

Enclosed in Shirley, William to Robert Hale Feb. 22-27, 1755.

1755. Wentworth, [Benning]. Portsmouth. Letter to Feb. 28. Gov. William Shirley. Acknowledges letters received giving plans against the French; agrees in the main with Shirley's proposals; asks advice as to best method of raising desired amount of money. Cont. Copy inclosed in Shirley to Robert Hale Mar. 4. 2pp.

In Sir William Johnson Mss.

1755. S[hirley], W[illiam]. Boston. Letter to Gov. Mar. 4. [Benning Wentworth]. Is gratified at Wentworth's approval of plans against Crown Point; outlines further plans against the French and Indians; hopes all the colonies involved may act in unison; united colonial troops to be under Sir William Johnson; [Maj.] General [Edward] Braddock to command British forces. Cont. Copy enclosed in Shirley to Robert Hale of equal date. 3pp.

In Sir William Johnson Mss

1755. Shirley, W[illiam]. Boston. Letter to Col. Mar. 4. [Robert] Hale. Considers it advantageous for Hale to have copies of Gov. [Benning] Wentworth's letter [of Feb. 28] and his [Shirley's] reply [of Mar. 4] so encloses same; has "taken care of your friend Capt. [Jonathan] Bagley"; Commissioners for Rhode Island [Thomas] Hutchinson, for New York and New Jersey [Thomas Pownall] and for Pennsylvania [Josiah Quincy] have gone to obtain aid from those colonies; thinks Gov. [Benning] Wentworth will be ready to see him [Hale] by the time the latter reaches Portsmouth and hopes visit will be a profitable one. A. L. S. 1p.

1755. Welles, Samuel and John Choat. [Hartford, Conn.]
Mar. 14. Letter to [Josiah] Willard, Secy. of Massachusetts. On Mar. 13 presented to Gov. [Thomas Fitch] and both branches of Assembly of Connecticut the plan proposed by Massachusetts for the expedition against Crown Point; having received from [Thomas] Hutchinson news of the favorable actions of Rhode Island presented that among other arguments for action by Connecticut but did not show the Rhode Island act; expect to obtain full quota and possibly more from the Assembly. Cont. Copy in ms. of and attested by Thomas Clarke Dpty. Secy. P. S. Auto. Note of Gov. William Shirley, by whom this copy is forwarded to Robert Hale, stating what portion of letter had been forwarded to Gov. Wentworth of N. H. 2pp.

Welles and Choate had been sent to Connecticut by the Massachusetts General Court as commissioners to advance the cause of the expedition mentioned. For names of Commissioners to other colonies see preceding entry. The spelling Choat is that of the manuscript and has been followed in title.

1755. [Hale, Robert]. Portsmouth. Letter to [Gov. William Shirley].
Mar. 14. Upon receipt of Shirley's letter [of Mar. 4] Hale started for Portsmouth Mar. 8 and arrived Mar. 9; [Gov. Benning] Wentworth unwilling that he see any legislators except the Secy. [Theodore Atkinson] until the Assembly met [Mar. 12]; reports progress made as to raising troops for service; in 1745 New Hampshire had but 7000 rateable polls and the state considers herself on the same footing as Rhode Island; no disposition to make allowance for what "we" [Massachusetts] did in 1754; thinks New Hampshire will provide 300 troops if kept in garrison; pleased that R. I. has come up to her quota; difficulties caused by counterfeit colonial paper; fears that much other aid

is not to be obtained from N. H.; reasons for hoping that [John] Titcomb will be given post of Lt. Col. A. L. 2pp. Incomplete.

1755. H[ale], R[obert]. Portsmouth. Letter [to Gov. Mar. 15. William Shirley]. Acknowledges letters of Shirley dated Mar. 14; laid enclosures before Gov. [Benning] Wentworth and his secretary; effect of Shirley's message upon the legislature; Hale's personal efforts with [Peter] Gilman, [Theodore] Atkinson and others; expects a report on 17th favoring 600 men with subsistence to point of rendezvous; will move for more men conditional on New York furnishing subsistence; many think New Hampshire should not be asked for half so many men as Massachusetts; doubts if so many can be secured with population but one-sixth as large; all wonder why the General Court of Massachusetts considered itself warranted in fixing the quota each colony should raise. A. L. S. 3pp.

1755. Shirley, W[illiam]. Boston. Letter to Col. [Robert] Mar. 16. Hale. Acknowledges letters of 14th from Hale and from Gov. [Benning] Wentworth; encloses copy of answer to latter; opinion on proposed feint along the Chaudiere; hints regarding boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire; thinks latter colony more interested in solution of troubles with French than is Rhode Island so her quota for Crown Point expedition placed at a larger number; has perfect confidence in Hale's judgment; desires that copies of letters forwarded him be returned as originals have been mislaid. A. L. S. 3pp.

- [1755]. H[ale]. R[obert]. Portsmouth. Letter [to Gov. Mar. 18]. William Shirley.] From conversation with Col. [Timothy] Ruggles and Capt. [Jonathan] Bagley

has concluded that salaries paid colonial army officers are much too small; bad results of policy; more attention must be paid to forwarding ammunition and supplies; hopes Shirley will look into matters himself; lack of supplies noted by Capt. [John] Osborne; no cannon at Albany until Aug. 2; welcomes [Maj. Genl. John] Winslow as commander [of Massachusetts troops]; praises appointments of Col. [John] Plaisted and Col. [Richard] Gridley; desires no command for himself and asks that his nephew R[obert] H. Chipman may not be compelled to serve as he is in poor health; recommends Capt. John Lee jr. of Manchester. Auto. Draft Signed. 3pp. Incomplete.

1755. Shirley, William. Boston. Letter to Col. [Robert] Mar. 19. Hale. Regrets difficulty with Col. [Peter] Gilman mentioned in letter of 14th [15th]; knows nothing of Lt. [Richard] Emery but thinks he "may be an officer of Sir William Pepperrell's Regiment"; hopes that obstacles will be removed [as regards raising men for campaign]; will give up such men as [Joseph] Malcolm has obtained; has directed [Ephraim] Berry to adjourn Inferior Court as requested. A. L. S. 1p.

1755. Hale, Robert. Portsmouth. Letter to [Gov. Mar. 21. William Shirley]. Assembly passed report of committee on raising men [for campaign against Crown Point] but agreed to 400 troops only; difficulties as to procuring appropriation for expenses of expedition; personal efforts with officials raised the number to 500; encloses copy of resolution to that effect just signed by Gov. [Benning Wentworth]; is gratified that so many were secured when length of boundary of New Hampshire is considered and when compared with contribution of Connecticut. A. L. S. 2pp.

1755. New York, Assembly. New York. Committee
 Mar. 27. report on message of Lt. Gov. [James DeLancey]
 with action of Assembly thereon. Matter con-
 sidered is expedition against Crown Point:
 report made by [William] Nicolls, chairman of
 Committee; Committee united with Committee
 of Council in consideration of message of Mar.
 26; approve plan proposed by Gov. [William]
 Shirley of Mass. and explained by Lt. Gov.
 [De Lancey] and Thomas Pownall; recommend
 that colony supply 800 men if British Com-
 mander in Chief [Sir William Johnson] approve
 and if Mass. raise and subsid 1400 men or 1200
 for Crown Point and 200 for a diversion up the
 Kennebec; Assembly agreed unanimously as
 did the Council and joint committee appointed
 to report to Lt. Gov. DeLancey. "By Abram
 Lott Jr. Clk. Assem." Copy in ms. of and
 attested by Thomas Clarke. 2pp.

It is possible that by "British Commander in Chief"
 Maj. Genl. Edward Braddock is meant. See: Shirley
 to Wentworth, Mar. 4, 1755. Ante p. 262.

1755. Massachusetts, General Court. [Boston]. Action
 Mar. 29 regarding Crown Point Expedition. In Council:
 Committee of War authorized to appoint one or
 more delegates to meet in conference with
 delegates from other colonies interested; con-
 sideration to apportion stores necessary for expedi-
 tion against Crown Point among several Col-
 onies, "sent down for Concurrence T[Thomas]
 Clarke, Dpty. Secy." In the House of Repre-
 sentatives: "Read and Concur'd T[Thomas] Hub-
 bard Spkr." "Consented to, W[illiam] Shirley."
 Copy signed and attested by Clarke. 1p.

1755 Shirley, William]. Boston. To John Burk.
 Mar. 30 Commission as Capt-Lieut. in regiment of Col.
 Ephraim Williams. Countersigned J[oseph]
 Willard D. S. 1p.

1755. **Massachusetts, General Court, Committee.** Boston.
Apr. 10. To [Robert] Hale. Consider it necessary for Hale to go to Portsmouth at once; is to inform New Hampshire Assembly that by reason of encouragement given by that body, Massachusetts and other governments have engaged for the expedition against Crown Point; Massachusetts has voted to raise 1500 men in place of the 1200 at first proposed and Committee hope New Hampshire will exert herself correspondingly. L. S. "J[ohn] Osborne In the Name of the Committee." 1p.

1755. **Williams, Ephraim.** Deerfield. Letter to John
Apr. 11. Burk. Offers Burk position of Capt-Lieut. in his regiment for expedition against Crown Point; desires that only good men be enlisted; Simeon Wells to be sergeant of company; conditions of enlistment for privates; wishes early reply and names of men going to join Col. [Israel] Williams at Hatfield. A. L. S. 1p.

The important officers of this regiment were Col. Ephraim Williams, Lt. Col. Seth Pomeroy, Maj. Noah Ashley, Surg. Thomas Williams, Surg. mate Perez Marsh, Chaplain Stephen Williams, Commissary Eleazer Burt, Adjutant Philip Richardson, Armorer John P. Bull.

1755. **Williams, Israel.** [Hatfield.] Letter to John Burk.
May 1. Consents to dismissal of Sergt. [William] Patrick from service and suggests that [Ebenezer] Sheldon succeed him; present rank of latter can be no higher than Corporal; outlines conduct expected in the office. A. L. S. 1p.

1755. **Williams, Elijah.** [Stockbridge, Mass.] To Col-
Jun. 17. ony of Massachusetts. Account for expenses in building Fort Williams Sep. 1754-Apr. 1755. Account amounts to £11. 14s. 1½d. and is attested before Joseph Dwight, Justice of Peace of Hampshire Co. It is addressed to Lt. Samuel Brown or Col. Joseph Dwight. A. D. S. 1p.

on his better situation and his success in expedition across the bay. A. L. S. 2pp.

This letter and its enclosures are printed in full on p. 295 ff., where are supplied the full names of officers mentioned in Shirley's list.

1755. Stebbings, John. Lake George. Receipt for military outfit belonging to late Robert Royan, with enumeration of goods received. D. S. 1p.

1756. Sinclair, Sir John. New York. Receipt Book Mar. 16-24. giving an account of the men employed and receipts for the money expended in securing batteau service for His Majesty's troops in America. The volume contains the lists of 24 companies and the signed receipts of 1039 officers and men; these persons "acknowledge to have voluntarily enlisted for the transporting of provisions for His Majesty's service in battoes according to the advertisement published by [Maj.] Genl. [William] Shirley dated Jan. 19, 1756" and they further acknowledge "to have received from Sir John St. Clair [Sinclair] Dep. Q. M. Genl. twenty days pay—the Captains at eight shillings, the Assistants at six and the Battoe men at four shillings a day." 1039 signatures: 24 and 30pp., 1 vol.

The names of the captains of the companies follow in the order of their signatures: Daniel De Normandie, Daniel Sutton, Jonathan Woodroff, James Cusick, Abraham Van Duerson, William Line, Peter Jaquet, John Salmon, John McDougall, John Ten Broek, John Lawrence, Thomas Deare, Samuel Neilson, Samuel Askwith, Jacobus Wyncoop, George Knaggs, Isaiah Valleau, Joseph Riggs, John Egan, Hendrick Seydam, John Brown, John Emott, and John Atkins.

1756. White, Jonathan; Richardson, Philip and John May 6. Stebbings. Boston. Bond to Massachusetts Colony. Amount of warrants received by each from the treasurer of the province "to subsist

- of Representatives providing method for computing wages of officers and soldiers who enlisted for the expedition [of 1755] against Crown Point sent up for concurrence of Council. T[homas]
- Jan. 17. Hubbard Spkr. In Council: Read and concurred. Thos. Clarke Dpty. Secy. Consented to S[pencer] Phips. Copy examined, A[ndrew] Oliver, Secy. 2pp.
1757. **Burk, John.** Boston, [Mass.] Muster roll of company under command of. 36 names on roll, among them 3 deserters and 4 Indians. The list appears to include but a section of Burk's full company and as frequently is the case in these early rolls the word deserter has not the full significance of later days often meaning no more than absent at time of roll call. Cont. Copy. 1p.
1757. **Partridge, Oliver.** Hatfield. Letter to John Burk.
- Mar. 30. Has received commission of Captain in [Massachusetts] service for Burk and of Lieutenant for Selah Barnard; requests Burk to notify latter and both to repair to Hatfield [to take oath of service]. A. L. S. 1p.
1757. [Burk, John. Fall Town?] List of men to form portion of Command of. A list of the names of men raised from the northern regiment in the county of Hampshire for his majesty's service under the command of the Earl of Loudon; 70 names with place of residence. Cont. Copy. 1p.
1757. **Denny, William.** Philadelphia. To Archibald
- Aug. 13. Kennedy. Acknowledges receipt of two letters, latter informing him of surrender of Fort William Henry and attack on Fort Edward; Pennsylvania has no militia but will recommend to the Assembly that assistance be given him. Cont. Copy. 1p. •

1757. Winslow, John. [Boston.] Letter to Maj. Elipha-
Aug. 17. let Pond. Orders Pond to march with his
detachment to Springfield where he is to place
himself under the direction of Sir William
Pepperell; postscript directs Pond to halt at
Worcester for camp on evening of August 18.
L. S. with autograph postscript. 1p.

1757. Pownall, Thomas. Boston. To Benjamin Hallo-
Aug. 27. well jr. Commission as Captain of His Majesty's
ship *King George*. D. S. of Pownall certified
by Thomas Clarke, Dep. Secy. 1p.

1757. Newhall, Jonathan. Stockbridge, [Mass.] Certifi-
Sep. 5. cate that 31 men have been billeted on inhabi-
tants of Stockbridge, for three weeks; men were
from the regiment of Col. John Chandler jr.
D. S. 1p.

1757. Hale, Robert. Chronicle of the War against the
Oct. 30. French and Indians. This chronicle is stated
as beginning Jul. 1, 1755 but rough notes of
occurrences as early as Oct. 18, 1748 are given.
Important events of the war against the French
and Indians are noted as also summaries of
legislative proceedings and popular feeling;
occurrences in New England and the North are
followed with more detail than corresponding
movements in the South and West. The Chron-
icle continues until Oct. 30, 1757 and is con-
tinued by a second part Nov. 1, 1757—April
30, 1761, and a third covering May 1, 1761—
Oct. 30, 1762. See entry under later of given
dates for each volume. A. D. 56 pp.; 1 vol.

1757. Woodbridge, Timothy. [Worcester.] To the pro-
Nov. 7. vince [of Massachusetts]. Amounts due to 13
named persons; expenses for billeting soldiers
under command of Capt. [Jonathan] Newhall

until troops were ordered by Sir William Pepper[r]ell; total is £ 18. 12 s. D. S. 1p.

[1757]. [Burk, John. Boston.] Muster roll of Company [Nov. 17.] under command of. 23 names on roll, among whom are noted the men who have been enrolled since Feb. 12, two who never joined and five deserters. The list appears to include but a section of Burk's company. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1757. Lane, Edmund. [Fort Cumberland.] Court Martial of. Record of Court Martial proceedings in case of Edmund Lane of Capt. [Benoni] Danks company of rangers in regiment of Lt. Col. Hunt Walsh. Court of six members, Capt. Theodore Augustus Spann, President; Lane found guilty of fighting and making a disturbance, and sentenced to 100 lashes. Sentence confirmed by "Hunt Walsh Lieut. Col." D. S. of Spann 1p.

1757. [Massachusetts.] Clothing supplied for provincial troops. List of coats, blankets etc. sent to Worcester by various persons to provide for troops at that place. Cont. ms. 1p.

[1757?] Worthington, [John.] List of certain men in regiment of. "A List of those absent, sick, deserted, absent by leave etc. raised in Col. Worthington's regiment." 32 names. Endorsed: List of soldiers left behind. Cont. ms. 1p.

1758. Danks, Benoni. Fort Cumberland. Roll of Company of. Roll contains names of 57 men of whom 42 are privates. See: Danks, Benoni, Roll Aug. 4. Feb. 20, 1761. Cont. ms. 1p. Mutilated.

1758. Bagley, Jonathan. Orderly Book of the Massachusetts regiment commanded by Col. Bagley when Aug. 20- in provincial camp at Lake George. 34pp. 1 vol. Sep. 11.

1758. Herres, William. Holden, [Mass.] Certificate of
Sep. 15. service of son. Certifies that his son Valentine
Herres enlisted in Capt. [John] Patton's Com-
pany of Gov. [William] Shirley's regiment and
was captured at Oswego. A. D. S. 1p.

1758. Williams, Israel. Hatfield. Letter to John Burk.
Sep. 29. Death of [John] Catlin makes Capt. Burk the
senior captain on the frontier service [in regi-
ment]; directs him to repair to Colrain and
other frontier posts to see that service is main-
tained; other directions. A. L. S. 1p.

1758. Fort William Henry, Diary of a soldier stationed
Sep. 15- at. The record begins with an account of life
Nov. 15. at the fort; describes such incidents of the war
as the arrival and departure of troops, actions
between opposing forces and rumors of move-
ments by the French or Indians. The volume
contains descriptions of Courts-martial, notes
of frontier life and closes with the record of a
march from Fort William Henry to Albany by
way of Fort Edward, Saratoga, Stillwater and
Half Moon. 12pp. Bound with a Diary of an
Expedition to Louisburgh etc. May 15, 1759-
Sep. 24, 1760. See entry under latter date
post p. 284.

1758. Pyncheon, Joseph. Deerfield. Letter to John Burk.
Nov. 26. Requests names of men on Burk's roll that com-
missary's account may be prepared. A. L. S. 1p.

1759. Hutchinson, Israel. [Boston?] To Gov. Thomas
Mar. 1. Pownall and the General Court of Massachusetts.
Petitioner was a Lieut. in company of Capt.
Andrew Fuller and regiment of Col. Jonathan
Bagley in expedition of 1758 against Canada;
mishaps suffered at "Ticondaroga" form basis
of petition for relief; certificates offered to
support claim. A. D. S. 1p.

[1759]. **Fellows**, [John] and others. "A List of the men
Feb. 23- enlisted above the Green Woods" by Capt.
Mar. 6. **Fellows**, [Paul] **Dewey**, [William] **King** and
[Josiah] **Church**. 70 names are given and men-
tion is made of one deserter. Cont. ms. 1p.

1759. **Ruggles**, Timothy. [Boston.] Letter to Capt.
Mar. 27. **John Burk**. Has appointed Burk Captain in
his own regiment; directs him to apply to Col.
Israel Williams of the militia for 90 men; latter
will raise this number and turn them over to
Burk who will be accountable for them thereafter.
L. S. 1p.

On verso in the manuscript of Burk is a Table giving
expenses of travel from Springfield to Boston May 17-21,
with notes of stopping places on way.

1759. **Pownall**, T[homas]. Boston. Commissions to
Mar. 31. **Cornelius Stowell** and **William Henshaw** as
1st and 2d Lieutenants respectively in companies
of Capts. **William Paige** and **Jeduthan Baldwin**
of regiment commanded by Brig. Genl. Timothy
Ruggles. Ds. S. Certified by A[ndrew] **Oliver**,
Secy. 1p. each.

1759. **Pierce**, Benjamin. Hampshire County. Enlist-
Apr. 2. ment papers. Acknowledgment of enlistment
in service for invasion of Canada. Counter-
signed by **Joseph Hawley**, Justice of Peace of
County of Hampshire. D. S. 1p.

[1759.] **Ingersoll**, Joseph. Boston. Letter to William
Apr. [10.] **Henshaw**. Notifies him that he has been
appointed a Lieutenant under Brig. Genl.
[Timothy] **Ruggles** for the campaign against
Canada, and directs him to repair to Worcester
for orders. A. L. S. 1p.

1759. **Waldo**, Samuel jr. Falmouth. [Portland Me.]
Apr. 13. Letter to William **Brattle**. Encloses regimental

1759. **Henshaw, Daniel.** Leicester. Letter to William
 Jun. 23. Henshaw. Acknowledges letter of Jun. 13 and
 is pleased to know of his continued good health;
 war news that has reached Leicester; capture
 of French Man of War. A. L. S. 1p.
1759. **Whiting, Leonard.** Fort Edward. Proceedings of
 Jul. 10. a garrison Court Martial consisting of Capt.
 Whiting and four others in the cases of Donald
 Curry, Thomas Muffett and Jacob Jones. Cont.
 Copy by William Henshaw. 2pp.
1759. **Kenfield, George and others.** Camp at Lake
 Jul. 11. George. To John Burk. Receipt for one King's
 arm to each person. D. S. George Kenfield,
 Aaron Petty, Ephraim Smith. 1p.
1759. **Burk, John.** Lake George. To Josiah Brewer.
 Jul. 12. Order on Brewer for goods to value of three
 shillings in favor of Joshua Gibbs. Similar
 orders of Jul. 28 and 31 are drawn by Burk on
 Brewer in favor of William Gray and John Rugg
 respectively. A. Ds. S. 1p. each.
1759. **Baldwin, Jeduthan.** [Fort Edward.] Troops com-
 [July.] manded by. A List of officers and privates
 under Capt. Jeduthan Baldwin enlisted in the
 first battalion of [Brig.] Genl. [Timothy] Ruggles
 of which battalion Lt. Col. Joseph Ingersoll
 was commander. Names of three additional
 commissioned officers and 58 non commissioned
 officers and privates are given. Cont. Copy. 1p.
1759. **Elmer, Samuel.** Fort Edward. To John Burk.
 Aug. 3. Order upon Burk to amount of £ 1. 12 s. 5 d.
 to be stopped from Elmer's wages in favor of
 Josiah Brewer and in payment of enclosed note
 to Brewer for above amount. Benjamin Edgell
 is witness to both note and order. Ds. S.
 1p. each.

1759. **Burk, John.** Crown Point. To Josiah Brewer.
Aug. 10. Order upon Brewer for goods to value of twelve shillings in favor of John Rugg. A. D. S. of Ebenezer Bardwell "in behalf of Capt. John Burk." 1p.
1759. **Partridge, Oliver.** Hatfield. Letter to John Burk.
Aug. 10. Congratulates Burk on successes thus far obtained: requests forwarding of news; mentions reduction of Niagara, progress of [James] Wolfe, affairs in Virginia and visit from Lt. [Ebenezer] Sheldon. A. L. S. 1p.
1759. **Williams, Israel.** Hatfield. Letter to John Burk.
Aug. 13. Acknowledges letters and congratulates Burk on success at Crown Point; "this may be the day of vengeance upon our enemies;" no news from [Maj.] Genl. [Daniel] Webb; fragments of news from Europe; troops leaving No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.] presumably for Burk's support: hopes there will be no trouble between reinforcements and former men. A. L. S. 2pp.
1759. **Wyer, David.** Annapolis Royal. Letter to Samuel Curwen. Account of skirmishing and conflicts in and near Annapolis. A. L. S. 2pp.
1759. **Whiting, Leonard.** Fort Edward. Proceedings of a garrison Court Martial consisting of Capt. Whiting and four others in case of John Munn. Cont. Copy by William Henshaw. 1p.
- [1759.] **Henshaw, William.** [Fort Edward.] Return of Sep. [26]. 49 men under command of Lieut. Henshaw with names and limited description of persons in company. A. D. S. 1p. Much mutilated.
1759. **Curtis, Zacheus.** Plymouth. To Gov. Thomas Oct. 3. Pownall and the General Court of Massachusetts. Petitions for remuneration for loss of his appren-

tice Francis Finney for two years; Finney enlisted in company of Capt. Samuel Nicols Nelson for expedition against Crown Point; was captured at Fort William Henry and kidnapped by Indians; broke away in 1759; came to Ticonderoga and on capture of that post was allowed by Sir [Jeffery] Amherst to return to Plymouth; result is loss of two years' service and other extra expense. A. D. S. Finney's oath to truth of statement is attested before Thomas Foster, Justice of Peace. A. N. S. of Foster. 1p.

1759. [Henshaw, William.] Fort Edward. Return of Oct. 24. garrison at Fort Edward. A monthly return of the state of the Garrison at Fort Edward; portions of eight regiments given making 344 men of all classes in the Garrison. A. D. 1p.

1759. Whiting, Leonard. Fort Edward. Proceedings of Oct. 30. a garrison Court Martial consisting of Capt. Whiting and four others in cases of Thomas Moffett and Mathias Duyce. Cont. Copy by William Henshaw. 1p.

1759. Lawrence, Sir Charles. Halifax. To Capt-Lieut. John Nov. 15. Walker. Directs Walker to proceed with Capt. [Benoni] Dank's company of rangers and relieve Capt. [Jotham] Gay with his provincials at Fort Edward; is to obtain from Capt. Gay account of stores etc. belonging to garrison and give receipt therefor; one-third of company to be on duty each day; further directions. Countersigned Archd. Hinshelwood Secy. D. S. 2pp.

1759. Henshaw, William. Orderly Book for the expedi- May 9- tion to Fort Edward with later notes. The Nov. 28. volume has a list of the officers and men of Capt. Jeduthan Baldwin's Company in which, Henshaw served as 2d Lieut., begins with the

regimental orders at Worcester May 9, and follows the march until the arrival at Fort Edward Jun. 5, 1759. After this date are found orders as issued at Fort Edward [N. Y.] until Nov. 9, together with many of Henshaw's private notes. During November the location of camp varies as the expedition against Crown Point is assumed, and the final entry of the war is dated at Rutland, Mass., Nov. 28, when the company broke ranks. Later notes to 1773 are of a miscellaneous character. A. D. 174 and 42pp. 1 vol.

A facsimile reproduction of a portion of this orderly book faces p. 259.

1759. **Crown Point**, Diary of a soldier stationed at. May 16– Nov. 28. The record begins with an account of conditions at Albany and notes of the march from Springfield thither; this is followed by notes of march to Saratoga and description of local events about Crown Point; the most common entry until November being "nothing extraordinary." Appended to the diary proper are various orders for the first battalion of Brig. Genl. [Timothy] Ruggles's regiment by [Cornelius Stowell and] Joseph Ingersoll; other entries of a later date and disconnected with the Crown Point campaign follow. 43pp. 1 vol.

1759. **Massachusetts**, "Book of Balances". This volume [Dec.] contains the names of soldiers representing the colony of Massachusetts in the French and Indian war during 1759 and to whom there is money yet due. In some cases the individual names of privates are omitted but total company numbers are given. The volume contains also receipts from officers and from many privates for monies received. 25pp. 1 vol.

- [1759.] **Burk, John.** Crown Point?] A List of men that came in Maj. [John] Hawks detachment. This list gives the names of 27 men belonging to Brig. Genl. Timothy Ruggles's regiment who accompanied Hawks by the road to No. 4 with accounts of billeting, etc. On verso is receipt of William Jennison to John Burk for money received for Thomas Haywood [Heywood.] A. D. 1p.
- [1759.] **Burk, John.** [Fall Town.] Roll of company under command of. This roll gives the names of 101 men including officers, with date of enlistment and occasional notes as to the 97 privates. Cont. mss. 4pp.
- [1759.] **Burk, John.** Fall Town.] Account of money disbursed. "Account of the 2d billeting money which I have paid out & to whome." 9 officers mentioned as receiving money and goods with amount given each. Auto. ms. 1p.
- [1759.] **Hawks, G[ershom].** Fort Charlemont.] List of soldiers at Fort Charlemont under command of. List comprises names of 11 men under Hawks and 10 men of "Taylor's garrison" under command of Sergt. Othniel Taylor. Cont. ms. 1p.
1760. **Willard, Nahum.** Worcester. To the Colony of Jan. 29. Massachusetts. Bill for services as physician and surgeon to Colonial troops Dec. 25, 1758 to Aug. 10, 1759, 119 cases. Sworn to before Jacob Wendell, Boston, Jan 31, 1760. A. D. S. of Willard with A. N. S. of Wendell. 11pp.
1760. **Dimuck, Gideon.** [Springfield.] Enlistment papers. Feb. 19. Acknowledgment of enlistment in provincial service and receipt of bounty money from Capt. Trastrum [Tristram] Davis with signed

attestation of John Worthington dated Mar. 5 D. S. 1p.

Similar enlistment papers for Luke Day, Benjamin Knight, George Larkin, Edmond Murphy and Josiah Ward jr. are in this collection. All are attested by Worthington.

1760. Warner, Ichabod. [Fall Town?] Enlistment papers.
Feb. 24. Acknowledgment of enlistment in provincial service and receipt of bounty money from John Burk with signed attestation of Israel Williams dated Mar. 5. D. S. 1p.

Similar enlistment papers for Thomas Elgar and Thomas Stanley are in this collection. Both are attested by Williams.

1760. Ruggles, Timothy. [Springfield.] Proclamation.
Mar. 13. Notifies any person having money received by Maj. [Francis] Ball for enlistments to pay same to Maj. John Burk. A. D. S. 1p.

1760. Ruggles, Timothy. Boston. Letter to John Burk.
Mar. 31. All men enlisted in Hampshire County to hold themselves ready to march at shortest notice to rendezvous selected; that provision for commissions and supplies may be made, return of numbers enlisted by various officers and account of previous service to be forwarded at once; time for enlistment extended to Apr. 15. L. S. 1p.

1760. Ruggles, Timothy. Boston. Letter to John Burk.
Apr. 2. Exhaustion of bounty money by supplying recruiting officers; directs Burk to call upon such of their number as have funds remaining in case of enlistment of additional new recruits. L. S. 1p.

1760. Harris, John. [Springfield.] Enlistment papers.
Apr. 15. Acknowledgment of enlistment in provincial service and receipt of bounty money from Lieut.

Joseph Thompson, with signed attestation of John Worthington dated Apr. 24, D. S. 1p.

1760. **Goffe**, John. Camp. [N. H.] Letter to Lt. John [Apr.] 23. Parker. Need of provisions as movements are extended away from the [Connecticut] river; urges that wagons loaded with both flour and meat be hurried on from Number 4 [Charlestown, N. H.] and that nothing but king's stores be allowed on the wagons; Lt. [Othniel] Taylor should be allowed ten days provisions; is to communicate instructions to Lt. Timothy Bedloe. A. L. S. 1p.

1760. **Paine**, Timothy. Worcester. To [John] Burk. Apr. 29. Sends blankets etc. by [Benjamin] Peirce and [Asa] Flagg; receipt to be signed and returned; additional stores to be obtained from Capt. [Luke] Bliss [jr.] of Springfield or from Capt. [Moses] Marsh of Hadley. Copy. 1p.

1760. **Gray**, Harrison, jr. Worcester. Letter to John Apr. 30. Burk. Is unable to leave Worcester himself but sends £ 112 sterling for equipment of troops etc.; asks to be informed if more is needed. A. L. S. 1p.

1760. **Williams**, [Israel]. [Hatfield.] Roll of regiment Feb. 21- under command of. Roll gives names of 113 May 12. men with dates of enlistment and muster; names are arranged under names of officers by whom men were enlisted. Auto. draft. 2pp.

1760. **Ruggles**, Timothy. Boston. To Abijah Willard. May 19. Urges that provincial troops be hurried to Albany; is to forward letter or copy to John Burk. Copy by Willard on page with following letter.

[1760.] **Willard**, Abijah. [Worcester.] Letter to John [May 21.] Burk. Has sent bounty notes by Lt. John

follows detailing movements of troops as well as of vessels; the volume closes with scattered orders after Jun. 1, 1760 and the announcement on Sep. 24 of the surrender on Sep. 8 of Montreal with all Canada to Genl. Amherst. 38pp. 1 vol.

1760. **Saturday, Jacob.** Half Moon. To Jesse Bellows. Order Nov. 10. upon Bellows for sum of wages due to date. D. S. 1p.

1759- **Henshaw, William.** Account Book. Accounts at 1760. Fort Edward and at Leicester for various articles May 26- purchased from individuals named. There are Dec. 4. also occasional notes of money borrowed or loaned and events occurring within the writer's knowledge bearing upon the progress of the war. A. D. 14pp. 1 vol.

In addition to this volume there are in the collection many notes and accounts of Henshaw during the war for which no entries have been included in this calendar. Some are but fuller statements of items given in this Account Book and others refer to matters covered by the Henshaw Orderly Book listed on p. 279.

1760. **Willard, Nahum.** Worcester. To the Colony of Dec. 22. Massachusetts. Bill for services as physician [and surgeon to Colonial troops, Jan. 21, 1760 to Dec. 1, 1760; 103 cases. A. D. S. 8pp.

1761. **Leake, Robert.** Albany. To Samuel Mather. Jan. 11. Need of a deputy commissary at Fort Detroit; duties and salary of the position; offers it to Mather; if accepted latter is to meet writer in New York to receive further detailed instructions proceeding thence to post via Philadelphia and Pittsburg. A. L. S. 2pp.

1761. **Danks, Benoni.** Fort Cumberland. Roll of Com- Feb. 20. pany of. List of men in company of Capt. Benoni Danks; roll contains the names of 7 officers and 93 privates. Cont. ms. 1p.

1761. **Stiles, Jacob.** Leicester. To William Henshaw.
Apr. 25. Receipt to Henshaw for money in full for services of Ephraim Gibson and one other [in the campaign of 1759]. D. S. 1p.
1761. **Hale, Robert.** Chronicle of the War against the French and Indians. This volume continues the chronicle begun in vol. I (Jul. 1, 1755-Oct. 30, 1757) and contains similar notes to Apr. 30, 1761. It is followed by a third continuing the record from May 1, 1761 to Oct. 30, 1762. See entries under date Oct. 30, 1757 and Oct. 30, 1762. A. D. 66pp. 1 vol.
1761. **Bernard, Francis.** Boston. To Benjamin Hallowell jr. Commission as Captain of His Majesty's ship *King George*. D. S. of Bernard. Certified by A[ndrew] Oliver Secy. 1p.
1761. **Wethered, Samuel.** Fort Cumberland, To John Walker. Receipt for £ 15. 11 d. Nova Scotia currency in full of account to date; account is in large part for war stores of various kinds. A. D. S. 1p.
1761. **Scott, John; Barritt, William and Levi Fletcher.** Jun. 30. [Dunstable, Mass.] To John Tyng. Order upon Tyng in favor of Thomas Farrington for £ 3. 14 s. 8 d. each, this sum being the amount remaining due to each from the Colony of Massachusetts as bounty money for enlistment in the French war. On verso is Farrington's receipt of even date to John Tyng for payment of several amounts above stated. D. S. 1p.
1761. **Cheever, Ezekiel and five others.** Westford, [Mass.] Jul. 1. To John Tyng. Order upon Tyng in favor of Leonard Whiting for £ 3. 14 s. 8 d. each, this sum being the amount remaining due each from the Colony as bounty money. Signed:
- .

Ezekiel Cheever, Amborrey [Ambrose?] Emery, Thomas Green, Nathaniel Emery, William Belknap, Nathaniel Harmen [Nathaniel Harriman?]. On verso is Whiting's receipt of Jul. 2 to John Tyng for payment of several amounts above stated. D. S. 2pp.

A like order upon Tyng in favor of Capt. Whiting signed by William Hunt and receipted by Whiting follows in the collection.

1761. [Tyng, John. Dunstable.] Return of Enlistments in Massachusetts Provincial Service. [Jul. 2.] Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service for the protection and security of His Majesty's dominions and conquests in North America. Roll contains names of 44 persons enlisted by Capts. William Barron, Thomas Farrington, Moses Parker, Leonard Whiting and Samuel Berry with time of enlistment and various details regarding same. On verso are receipts to John Tyng for provincial bounty received by men enlisting. In ms. of John Tyng. 44 signatures. 2pp.

1761. [Tyng, John. Dunstable.] Return of Enlistments in Massachusetts Provincial Service. [Jul. 4.] Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service for the protection and security of His Majesty's dominions and conquests in North America. Roll contains names of three persons enlisted by Capt. Thomas Farrington with time of enlistment and various details regarding same. On verso are receipts to John Tyng witnessed by Jacob McDaniel for provincial bounty received by men enlisting. In ms. of John Tyng. 3 signatures. 2pp.

1761. [Tyng, John. Dunstable.] Notes of Money on hand. [Jul. 4.] Rough notes as to money of province on hand [and due various persons as bounty

money in connection with the provincial
service. £ 1 10

1761. Byg. John. Treasurer. Note of money received
Jul 1. 1761. of the Treasurer of the Province. May 1
and 2. and Secretary. Vintage. for 9 to which
amount money is due. £ 1 10

1761. Byg. John. Treasurer. Receipt for money
Jul 1. 1761. received of the Treasurer of the Province. May 1
and 2. and Secretary. Vintage. for 9 to which
amount money is due. £ 1 10

1761. Byg. John. Treasurer. Note of money received
Jul 1. 1761. of the Treasurer of the Province. May 1
and 2. and Secretary. Vintage. for 9 to which
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and 2. and Secretary. Vintage. for 9 to which
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Jul 1. 1761. of the Treasurer of the Province. May 1
and 2. and Secretary. Vintage. for 9 to which
amount money is due. £ 1 10

See preceding entry

1761. Byg. John. Treasurer. Receipt for various
supplies. Supplies and stores received on board
ship. For 4. and 5. and to be delivered to
Capt. W. and to the Prov. Frederick. St. John's
and. John. Margaret. Witness. D. S. 10.

1762. [Tyng, John. Dunstable.] Return of Enlistments [Mar. 22.] in Massachusetts Provincial Service. Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service for the protection and security of His Majesty's dominions and conquests in North America. Roll contains names of 41 soldiers enlisted by Capt. [William] Barron, Lt. [Ezekiel] Brown, and Lt. [Benjamin] Byram with time of enlistment and various details regarding the men enlisting. A. D. 1p.

1762. [Tyng, John. Dunstable.] Return of Enlistments [Mar. 27.] in Massachusetts Provincial Service. Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service for the protection and security of His Majesty's dominions and conquests in North America. Roll contains names of 44 soldiers enlisted by Capt. Benjamin Edwards, Lts. Benjamin Byram, [Thomas] Maxwell and Ensign Leo Butterfield with time of enlistment and various details regarding men enlisting. A. D. 1p.

1762. Dixson, Thomas. Fort Cumberland. Letter to Apr. 9. John Walker. Acknowledges letters of Jan. 4 by Capt. [David] Dickey; family matters; rumor of troops at Fort Cumberland about to be sent to the West Indies or to the Mississippi; refers him to Capt. [Benoni] Danks for further information; severity of previous winter and poor prospects for crops of present year. A. L. S. 2pp.

1762. Walker, John. Fort Frederick. To Col. [William] Apr. Forster. Encloses monthly returns of garrison for February and March; sent those for November, December and January by a French courier to Fort Cumberland and hopes Forster has received them; reports as to accidents and desertions from fort; gives names of seven deserters and account of their capture; asks

1766- Rogers, Robert. Journal of Proceedings with the
1767. Indians. This manuscript furnishes an account
Sep. 21- of the proceedings of Maj. Rogers with the
Feb. 1. Indians in the district of "Michillimackinac"
during the period immediately following the
French and Indian war. The events here
chronicled are a result of that war and should
not be separated from it. 28 and 30pp.

**ILLUSTRATIVE MANUSCRIPTS
DESCRIPTIVE OF THE DEFEAT OF
MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD BRADDOCK.**

Commodore Augustus Keppel to Gov. Sir Charles Lawrence.

Sir: SEA HORSE AT SEA July 26th, 1755.

I have received the favour of several different letters from you upon his Majesties service & was upon the point of sailing to your port, but first the melancholly report of the defeat of the Kings troops under General Braddock stop't me and immediatly after receiving Admiral Boscawen's orders, I am prevented having the pleasure of seeing you, but I must give you joy of your being so much more effectually guarded.

Between the first report of the General's death & any confirmation of the story, there was a space of ten days which gave me flattering hopes that it was only report, but the day before yesterday, I received a confirmation of it by express from Wills creek, I imagine altho' its a melancholly subject you woud be glad of the particulars & have inclosed you a list of the killed and wounded, a copy of a letter from Mr. Orme, General Braddocks Aid de Camp, to me and a copy of Mr. Washingtons (who was likewise the General's Aid de Camp) to Governor Dinwiddie. Great blame & shame is laid to the charge of the private men of poor Sir Peter Halkett, & Col. Dunbars regiment that was upon the spot. The loss of the artillery is irretrievable as it enables the French to fortify themselves so strongly, and I fear very much the Credit of the British Arms among the Indians will now be lost. A number of unhappy circumstances will attend this defeat. It may effect Govr. Shirley in his attack against Niagara, as well as many other operations that were proposed.

I give you joy that your expedition up the Bay has succeeded so well & I wish Sir you may always be as successful. I am to far off to receive your comands for England & Am Sir

Your most Obed. & most

humble Servant,

A. KEPPEL.

To Gov. Lawrence.

Endorsed: Commodore Keppel, Sea Horse at Sea July 26, 1755, enclosing copys of Capt. Orme's letter to Mr. Keppel, Majr. Washington's to Mr. Dinwiddie & a list of officers at the action under Gen. Braddock on the Monongahela. recd. by Capt. Barrington, Aug. 11.

See note on p. 301.

Officers present at the Battle of Fort DuQueene.

A List of the Officers who were present and of those Killed & Wounded in the Action on the Banks of the Monongahela the 9th July 1755.

Staff.

His Excelency Edwd. Braddock Esq. Genl and Commander
in Chief of his Maj^s. Forces in North America, Died of
his..... Wounds.

Robert Orme	Wounded.
Roger Morris	Ensign Aide de Camp
✓ Gen. Washington	
Willm. Shirley Esq. Secretary	Killed.
Sir Jno. St. Clair Deputy Quar. Master General	Wounded.
Matth. Lemley Gentl. Lieut. serving as Assistant to the Quar. Master Genl.	Wounded.
✓ Francis Halket Esq. Major of Brigade	
44th REGIMENT.	
Sir Peter Halket Colonel	Killed.
Lieut. Col. Thomas Gage	Slightly Wounded.
Capt. Charles Taston	Killed.
✓ Samuel Hobson	
✓ John Beckworth	
[Capt. Lieut. Richard] Gethins	Killed.
✓ Lieut. [Thomas] Faulkner	
[William] Litzeler	Wounded.
✓ [Richard] Baylie	
[William] Dunbar	Wounded.
✓ [James] Pottinger	
[James] Halket	Killed.
[John] Treby	Wounded.
[James] Allen	Killed.
[Andrew] Simpson	
[Robert] Lock	Wounded.
[Ensign Daniel] Disney	
[Quinton] Kennedy	
[Robert] Townsend	Killed.
✓ [William] Preston	
[Francis] Nartlow	Killed.
[George] Penington	Wounded.

¹The name of this officer is usually given as Capt. John Beckwith, but I follow the text. Similar inaccuracies in spelling show that this list was made from no official report but from memory or from other than official information.

²Faulkner's name is often given as Falender. He was promoted to a company Nov. 5, 1755.

³More correctly spelled Litzler.

⁴The officer is sometimes confused with Alexander Baillie but is more probably the Richard Bayley who obtained his Lieutenancy Apr. 3, 1750.

⁵More accurately Pottinger.

⁶Lt. Simpson had been promoted from the rank of Ensign Jun. 29, 1755, and Lock on the 27th. Allen is here given as killed, but a James Allen was commissioned Lt. of the 44th on Nov. 9, 1755, and it is probable that he was but wounded at this time.

⁷Wentworth's biographer in his History of Braddock's Expedition, Philadelphia, 1855, gives this officer as Francis Kennedy.

⁸Unless this be Francis Nartlow, later Ensign and Lieutenant of the 55th Foot, I have been unable to identify him. The name Nartlow or Nortlow does not appear among the officers of the 44th in the Army List of 1755. The later lists do not contain his name, nor would they owing to his death, but he would have been commissioned probably as early as Penington, who dated from Jun. 6, 1755.

48TH REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. [Ralph] Burton ⁹	Wounded.
Major [William] Sparks.....	Slightly Wounded.
✓Captn. [Robert] Dobson.....	
[Robert] Chulmley.....	Killed.
[Richard] Bowyer.....	} Wounded.
[Robert] Ross.....	
Capt. Lieut. [William] Morris.....	
[Lieut. Theodore] Barbut.....	} Wounded.
[John] Walsham.....	
[Waterhouse] Crimble.....	} Killed.
[William] Wideman ¹⁰	
[John] Hansard.....	
[Henry] Gladwin.....	Wounded.
✓[John] Hathorn.....	
[William] Edmiston.....	Wounded.
✓[John] Cope.....	
[Percival] Brereton ¹¹	} Killed.
[John] Hart.....	
[John] Montreseur.....	Wounded.
✓[John] Dunbar.....	
✓[Ensign Thomas] Harrison ¹²	
✓[Joseph] Cowhart [Cowart].....	
[Alexander] McMullen [McMullen].....	} Wounded.
[Richard] Crow.....	
[Robert] Sterling.....	

ARTILLERY.

✓Captn. [Thomas] Orde.....	
Captn. Lieutn. [Robert] Smith.....	Killed.
Lieut. [Francis James] Buckhanon.....	} Wounded.
[William] McCloud [McLeod].....	
[Patrick] McCuller.....	

ENGINEERS.

Peter McKeller.....	} Esqrs.....	} Wounded.
Robt. Gordon.....		
[Adam] Williamson.....		

⁹The Army List for 1755 gives the name Robert Burton but this is an error.

¹⁰In several cases spelling of names differs. Thus Wideman is better Widman, Hansard should be Handsard; Edmiston should be Edmondston, etc.

¹¹Brereton and Hart are given as Ensigns in the Army List for 1755, and their death prevents further mention. Dunbar and Montresor were commissioned Lieutenants on July 3 and 4 respectively.

¹²Thomas Harrison appears to have been transferred from the 36th Regt. of Foot shortly before this campaign.

DETACHMENT OF SAILORS.

Lieutn. Spendelow.....	Killed.
✓Mr. Haynes } Midshipmen.....	Killed.
Mr. Talbot }	
Captn. [William] Stone of Gen. [Peregrine] Lascells	
Regement.....	Killed.
[Scot] Floyer of [Maj.] Gen. [Hugh] Warbur-	
tons Regement.....	Wounded.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF NEW YORK.

Captn. [Horatio] Gates.....	Wounded.
Lieutn. [Simon] Sumain.....	Killed.
✓[Richard] Miller.....	
Howarth of Capt. Demaris Inddept. Compy. }	Wounded.
[Robert] Gray, of the same Company .. }	

VIRGINIA TROOPS.

Capt. [Adam] Stevens.....	Wounded.
✓[John] Wagoner ¹⁸	
[William] Poulson.....	
Peronie [Peyronney].....	Killed.
✓[Robert] Stewart.....	
[John] Hamilton.....	Killed.
✓[Henry] Woodward.....	
✓[John] Wright.....	
[Carolus Gustavus de] Splitdorff.....	Killed.
[Walter] Stewart.....	Wounded.
[Edmond] Wagoner.....	Killed.
✓[John] McNeal.....	

According to the most exact return we can as yet get about
(200) men killed and wounded.

Those marked ✓ against their names received no hurt.

Capt. Robert Orme to Commodore Augustus Keppel.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Orme (Aid de Camp to his
late Excellency Genl. Braddock) to the Honble. Augustus
Keppel dated at Fort Cumberland the 18th July 1755.

At the Little Meadows a place about Twenty Miles from
there we found it unavoidable to alter our disposition of march,
it being impossible to proceed with such a Train of Carriages.
A detachment was therefore made of twelve hundred men,
ten pieces of ordnance, ammunition and provisions calculated

¹⁸The spelling in this Virginia list are defective. Wagoner should be Waggoner
in each case. Poulson is probably Pulson and McNeal should be McNeill; possibly
McNeil in place of John

for reducing the Fort and our subsistence. With this we proceeded very fast and in great spirits till about one o'clock on the 9th Instant. The French with some Indians, the number of both unknown, had taken a very strong post about half a mile from the Banks of Monongahela; our advanced party, consisting of 300 men began a very irregular & confused attack; they were ill sustained by 200 in their rear, and the whole fell back upon the van of [the] main body, commanded by the General, whilst he was moving forward to their assistance. From this time all was anarchy, no order, no discipline, no subordination; the General with the Officers endeavored to bring the men back to a sense of their duty, but all efforts were vain.

This Confusion lasted about two hours and a half, and then the whole ran off crying the devil take the hindmost. Our guns, ammunition provisions and baggage remained in the hands of the enemy, and the General was with the greatest difficulty brought off being so much wounded as to be quite helpless. The General had five horses shot under him and at last received a shot through his lungs of which he died the 13th Instant at night. His Family were prettily pickled, Shirley killed in the field, Morris and myself much wounded, Washington alone escaped tho' no man deserved a wound better, his whole Behavior being extremely gallant. Burton sends his compliments and is now lying by me, with an extreme bad wound in his hip, but it is hoped he will recover.

Never did Officers behave so well. They got themselves murder'd by distinguishing themselves in leading their men on. 28 Officers are dead, 35 wounded, many of which will not recover, and about 600 Men Killed & Wounded according to the best accounts we have yet been able to get. Your Guard behaved very well. Spendelow & Talbot are no more, and if you should see Pallisser, tell him his nephew behaved particularly well, advancing with the colours and innocently asking if the men would not go along with him.

I could talk to you an hour in this manner, but I am too weak to continue it long, but as my strength increases, I will write frequent and long letters. As soon as I am able, I shall go to Philadelphia and from thence to England.

George Washington to Gov. Robert Dinwiddie.

FORT CUMBERLAND, July 18, 1755.

Honbl. Sir:

As I am favored with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable was I to omit giving you some account of our late Engagement with the French on the Monongahela, the 9th instant.

We continued our March from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within 7 miles of Duquesne) without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place, we were attacked (very unexpectedly) by about three hundred French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of about thirteen hundred well armed men, chiefly Regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general, behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being near 60 killed and wounded—a large proportion, out of the number we had!

The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers; for I believe out of three companies that were on the ground that day scarce thirty were left alive. Capt. Peyronney and all his officers down to a corporal, were killed; Capt. Polson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly behaviour of the Regular troops (so-called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and, at length, in despite of every effort to the contrary, broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and, in short, everything a prey to the enemy. And when we endeavoured to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains, or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by, in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it.

The General [Edward Braddock] was wounded in the shoulder and breast, of which he died three days after; his two aids-de-camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of recovery; Colo. [Ralph] Burton and Sr John St. Clair [Sinclair] are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, were killed in the field. It is supposed that we had three hundred or more killed; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is conjectured (I believe with much truth) that two-thirds of both received their shot from our own cowardly Regulars, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep, would then level, fire and shoot down the men before them.

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who, I suppose, will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colo. [Thomas] Dunbar, who commands at present, intends, as soon as his men are recruited at this place, to continue his

march to Philadelphia for winter quarters; consequently there will be no men left here, unless it is the shattered remains of the Virginia troops, who are totally inadequate to the protection of the frontiers.***

The copy of Washington's letter mentioned as an enclosure by Keppel is not with the letter of that officer in the collections of this Society but there is a contemporary copy in the Library of Congress at Washington. The copy printed above is from Ford: Writings of Washington I, 173. New York, 1889.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 21, 1909, IN ELLIS HALL, AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by the
second Vice-President, Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

The following members were present:—

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis,
James F. Hunnewell, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith,
Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green,
Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Reuben Colton,
Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, A. George Bullock,
William E. Foster, Charles P. Greenough, Francis H.
Dewey, Reuben G. Thwaites, Henry A. Marsh, William
T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, William R. Livermore,
George P. Winship, Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell,
Benjamin T. Hill, Henry F. Jenks, Albert Matthews, William
MacDonald, Roger B. Merriman, Deloraine P. Corey,
Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worthington
C. Ford, Henry E. Woods, Edward L. Stevenson, Julius
H. Tuttle, Arthur P. Rugg, Alfred M. Tozzer.

The reading of the records of the last meeting was, on
motion, dispensed with, the printed report of the proceed-
ings having been already distributed among the members
of the Society.

The Report of the Council was read by Mr. E. HARLOW
RUSSELL.

A list of persons proposed by the Council for membership was submitted to the Society and Messrs. Ford and Woods were appointed as tellers in the election of members. The following gentlemen were then elected as members of the Society.

Resident members:

Samuel Morris Conant, Pawtucket, R. I.
Wilfred Harold Munro, A.M., Providence, R. I.
William Nelson, A.M., Paterson, N. J.
Justin Harvey Smith, A.M., Hanover, N. H.

Foreign member:

José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile.

REUBEN G. THWAITES, of Madison, Wisconsin, read a paper entitled "The Ohio Valley Press before the War of 1812-15."

This was followed by a paper by EDWARD L. STEVENSON, of New Brunswick, N. J., on "Early Spanish Cartography of the New World, with special reference to the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish Map and the Work of Diego Ribero." Professor Stevenson had spread out on a table numerous maps and illustrated the points which he wished especially to impress upon his hearers by displaying these maps and also by references to a larger map suspended upon the wall.

Following this communication a paper by WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, of Providence, R. I., on "Early Commercial Providence." was read in behalf of Mr. Weeden who was not able to be present at the meeting, by GEORGE P. WINSHIP, of Providence, R. I.

NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester, Mass., read from some of the papers recently given to the Society by Mr. JAMES P. PAINE of Worcester, certain facts relative to the naturalization of Dr. William Paine, a refugee loyalist, and an account of the battle of Bunker Hill.

By vote of the Society the various papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then adjourned.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

The members of the Society were then entertained at the Algonquin Club at the invitation of Andrew McFarland Davis.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

As required by the By-laws of the Society, the Council submits herewith its semi-annual report.

It regrets to record the death, on Saturday, February 20, of Carroll Davidson Wright, for five years a member of this Council, whose attendance and interest gave dignity to our meetings. A special memorial meeting of the Council was held on the Tuesday following, the record of which will be printed in the next number of our Proceedings. A fitting memorial of Mr. Wright will be prepared by our associate Dr. G. Stanley Hall, and will be presented to the Society at the October meeting.

The Council also regrets to learn of the recent death, on Thursday, November 5, at his home in Washington, of Dr. Otis Tufton Mason, the distinguished ethnologist, who but a few days before had accepted membership in this Society. A suitable notice of his character and work will be presented to the Society by our associate and official biographer, Judge Utley.

As the result of correspondence with the Massachusetts Historical Society, a committee from this Society consisting of Messrs. Andrew McF. Davis, George P. Winship, and Clarence S. Brigham, has been appointed to confer with a committee from the Historical Society consisting of Messrs. Charles Francis Adams, Nathaniel Paine and Barrett Wendell, with reference to the publication of the Mather Diaries. The result of the proposed conference will be awaited with much interest.

The exhibition in our Hall of the plans for a new building, to be erected on the grounds recently acquired by the Society at the corner of Salisbury Street and Park Avenue, is the first visible step in a movement for convenience and expan-

sion in dealing more effectively with our constantly accumulating material. While, as was to be expected, changes in several minor details have been suggested, the Council is gratified to report that very general satisfaction has been expressed with the plans as a whole. Perhaps the most noticeable feature shown is the compactness of the new building. Within sixty feet of a central point in the main reading-room will be shelved sixty thousand volumes.

As the building committee has already reported to the Council, estimates will soon be obtained from the contractors, and the Society will then be in a position to know how soon ground can be broken for the new building.

A gift to the Society by Mr. James P. Paine of sundry letters and papers of historical value was duly acknowledged by a vote of thanks. Our associate, Mr. Nathaniel Paine, will set forth the character and scope of the donation.

It is gratifying to record the fact that the presence and activity of our newly-appointed Librarian does not operate to exclude the attendance and advice of the Librarian Emeritus whose long familiarity with the details of the routine work of the library renders his suggestions of practical value.

E. HARLOW RUSSELL,

For the Council.

OBITUARY.

Otis Tufton Mason was elected a member of this Society October 21, 1908, and died in Washington, D. C., November 5, 1908. He was born in Eastport, Me., April 10, 1838, graduated from Columbian College in Washington, D. C., in 1861, and took charge of the preparatory department of that institution in the same year, remaining until 1864, when he became curator of ethnology in the National Museum in Washington. This position he held until 1902, since which time he has been head curator of the department of anthropology. On October 23, 1862, he was married to Sarah E. Henderson. The degree of LL. D., was conferred on him by his *Alma Mater* in 1886 and he was made a trustee in 1899.

He was a scientist of international reputation and was an honorary or a corresponding member of many American and foreign scientific societies. His publications have appeared in the *American Naturalist* and in the issues of the *Smithsonian Institution*. For about a year he has been in feeble health but pursued his labors almost to the end.

His intercourse with this Society was so short that we have been deprived of the great pleasure that we had anticipated from his relations with us, in which association we have reason to know that he joined.

THE OHIO VALLEY PRESS BEFORE THE WAR OF 1812-15.

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

In the year previous to the framing of the federal constitution, none but the most optimistic of pioneer printers could have seen in the country west of the Alleghanies a hopeful field for the establishment of a weekly newspaper. The greater part of this vast region was still unredeemed wilderness, and geographical, social, and economic conditions were such as apparently to preclude so arduous an enterprise.

Villages were few and small; the borderers were chiefly of the farming class, dwelling so far apart that the ability to detect the smoke from a neighbor's cabin was by many regarded as evidence that the district was becoming overpopulated. Small probability of patronage, therefore, faced intending editors of the earliest trans-Alleghany newspapers; as for advertisements, which to our modern journals are the breath of life, the prospect was not alluring. Money was scarce even in the centres of Western population; among the farmers, barter was still the principal mode of exchange. A cautious publisher might well stop to enquire whence was to come the cash that he must needs transmit to the East for machinery and printing supplies.

The problem of serving the few and far-scattered prospective subscribers with the products of the press was likewise serious, for roads were few and postal conveniences meagre and uncertain. As for communication with the Eastern sources of supply, this was largely confined to a road which had in 1785 been completed from Philadelphia, then the metropolis of the young nation, to the Forks of the Ohio,

a distance of three hundred miles.¹ Over this turnpike, an express line of Conestoga wagons passed to and fro. But only in the most favorable seasons could these cumbersome but picturesque vehicles be hauled over the long and rough mountain thoroughfare; at others, pack-horses were the sole reliance, as they slowly picked their way across swollen fords or through swampy hollows and hillside cuttings. Eastern-made paper, type, ink, and presses, all heavy and requiring careful handling, must be brought to the West by such rude means of transportation, at a time when freight rates between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were six dollars a hundred-weight.²

But the true pioneer, be he trader, farmer, or journalist, recked nought of sordid calculations. Through the alembic of youthful optimism he sees the raw land not as it is, but as he imagines it will become, and casting his stake on this hope is chronicled in history as either fool or prophet. Had the West depended on prudent, conservative settlers, it would have been long awaiting development.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—1786.

Pittsburgh, the seat of the earliest trans-Alleghany journal, was then but a shabby little river port, with less than forty log-houses, sheltering a population not exceeding three hundred.³ But its levee was crowded with flat-boats and other rude river craft waiting to carry westering immigrants and their chattels down the Ohio; and to the prophetic eye of John Scull, a Quaker youth just turned twenty-one, the hamlet seemed in the early summer of 1786 to give promise of a vigorous future as the entrepôt of the West.

The Treaty of Paris was but three years old. The United States had not yet formed a strong federal government. Something approaching chaos reigned in several of the thirteen States. Upon the Western border, where society

¹In Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), iii, pp. 52, 134, 139, 140. F. A. Michaux estimates the distance, via Lancaster, at 293 miles.

²S. H. Killekelly, *History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1906), p. 97.

³Neville B. Craig, *History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1851), p. 28.

was unstable, and little interest felt in Eastern affairs, the separatist feeling was so strong that the Union seemed likely to dissolve. The existence of a federal domain northwest of the Ohio River, formed from colonial claims ceded to the general government by Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, seemed the only thread of interest holding the West to a support of the new constitution, which statesmen were now urging upon the people.

With this nationalist movement, young Mr. Scull was heartily in sympathy, and he had come to Pittsburgh, apparently from Eastern Pennsylvania, prepared to establish a public journal to foster such policy in the sparsely-settled region of the upper Ohio. Associated with him was another youth of twenty-one, Joseph Hall, a practical printer. Hall died in November, however, and early the following year Scull took John Boyd into partnership; but later, we find the projector conducting the journal entirely by himself, being his own editor, reporter, and printer, and eking out a livelihood by serving as postmaster for the port.

The first issue of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* appeared on July 29—four pages, about 14 x 24 inches in size; but so small was the Ramage hand-press imported for this purpose, that eight pulls were needed to print the sheet.⁴ The subscription price was established at 17s. 6d. per year, and advertisements not exceeding a square were inserted three times for a dollar. It being found difficult to maintain the supply of paper at so great a distance from the East, the page was for a time (commencing November 17, 1787), reduced under stress of circumstances to 9 x 16 inches, with this ambiguous apology:

The printers are under the necessity of handing the *Gazette* to their subscribers in an abridged form, they having been disappointed in having received a supply of paper.

There has been preserved a letter dated July 1, 1792, from Scull to Major Isaac Craig, then commandant of Fort Fayette, in which he requests a loan of paper from the

⁴ Killekelly, p. 483.

government sent him their help after the receipt of the information of that time about the great transportation route of carriage paper.¹

As Indian war had for some years haunted the country west and northwest of Pittsburgh, the Gazette's circulation was not so good, in the west and northwest of that time—owing to the distances between against Indian attacks, scattered at times over the whole Ohio territory, threatening that the country west of Detroit in opening out, and from the frontier banks of the Mississippi and Longhorn rivers and their alluvial. Mr. Smith's young men were regularly started in these remote settlements where the little paper was printed as a financial and commercial paper, and the relations with the far-away Eastern world.

At first, the young postmaster-ship occupied but space and money and furnished for the delivery of the paper his conditions were gradually bettered. In the year number September 2, John Blair announced that he had established a line of freight boats on the Mississippi, from Pittsburgh to George's Ferry, a distance of thirty-five miles by water, and river-side -describes- can now have their paper delivered weekly at a cheaper rate and more regularly than by any other newspaper. A similar line is administered by John McDonald to ply from the metropolis to points on the Mississippi River and Peter - Mingo and Pigeon creek rivers and also serves as a slow and steady medium for the circulation of the Gazette. The issue for March 2, 1797, notes the opening of a weekly mail from Alexandria, Va. to Pittsburgh, to pass over the old Braddock Road from Camp Hill, Md. which traverses the oldest-settled district in this region. On July 14 of the succeeding year, a weekly post was established between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. With accommodations such as these, the editors no longer complain of lack of facilities for distribution.

Examining the contents of the Gazette, we find them typical of the school of far Western newspapers so soon to appear in its wake. European news, anywhere from four

¹Craig, p. 214

B. L. H.
MAY, VI.]

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

Price Six Pence.]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1864.

Foreign Intelligence.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 10.

THIS morning a *perfez* was called who was under the protection of Sweden, with all his servants; he was entrusted to prison, and his effects put under the seal. The *perfez* had been for some years employed in the mint, and had the receiving of all the gold and silver specie converted into coin, but having in a short time amassed a large fortune, he is suspected and accused of having unlawfully made away with five or six millions of piastres, part of which he was impudently enough to propose to spend the election of the prince of Wallachia against the pleasure of the sovereign. He now to give an account how he came by his riches, and as they have already put him to the torture, it is feared he will come badly off.

VIENTIANE, May 10.

The emperor died last week at prince Kaunitz's, where a large party of the nobles were invited, when the conversation at table turning on the great change made by the emperor in the system of penal laws, which, instead of punishing delinquents with death, grants in the cheeks, and lets them to draw barges, or such servile employments, a lady asked, if such punishments would be inflicted on the nobility, if guilty of the enormities to which the emperor resorted.

He could carry at two or three times of a night. He was examined in council, and declared he had no accomplices. Being asked how he could deceive the guards, either in digging the ground or entering the hole, he refused to tell, unless his majesty would grant him a pardon. This act being considered with, he was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, in the new market, after having his right hand cut off, his nose sliced, and his legs broke with an iron bar, on the twenty fifth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eleven.

Extra of a letter from the Hague, May 16.

Baron Fautenay, envoy extraordinary to his Prussian majesty, remitted to the president of the Senate, the following memorial:

"High and mighty Lords,

"The undersigned envoy of his Prussian majesty is desirous to assure your high excellencies of the inviolable and sincere friendship which his majesty bears towards them; and to assure them, at the same time, of the pleasure he has in expressing himself a friend and ally of the republic, in the re-establishment of internal peace and tranquillity in the United Provinces. His majesty applauds and sincerely agrees to these resolutions. He would be highly accessible to him, that they would zealously and firmly persist in putting, not only the constitution and sovereignty of the State, but also the rights and privileges of the hereditary Raths and Estates, upon a permanent basis. His

between the parties, neither of whom had retired from the ground; General Stewart, in consequence of the position, having been under the necessity of putting himself of putting his back to a tree.

The surgeons, Mr. Hume and Mr. Stone, who were attending at a little distance, were brought up by Colonel Fullerton. Colonel Gordon, on the mean while, assisted his landing in taking off his coat, and requested him to sit down, apprehending he might be laid through loss of blood. Colonel Gordon then lost the ground, in company with General Stewart; and many carriage was provided to convey his lordship home.

The records cannot help expressing, that no two persons ever met on a similar occasion, who showed more firmness and composure; and they are happy to add, that the ball is extracted, which was lodged in Lord Macartney's right shoulder; and there is every reason to hope for his recovery.

(Signed)

WM. FULLERTON.
A. GORDON.

A few days ago, the following very uncommon and extraordinary story happened at Cronulla, near Epping, Surrey. Two men and their wives, being in company, some words arose between the men, and at length they went to blows; the battle was decided in favour of the man, the title of which not fitting ex-

to seven months old, occupies the major part of the limited space. American intelligence, somewhat fresher, appears in the form of letters to the editor from Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia—from the last-mentioned metropolis, perhaps a month in transit. While the *Gazette* was in the field for a definite political purpose, there were no editorials, their office being, in the fashion of that day, supplied by long anonymous essays from "Vindex," "Observer," "Cato," "Subscriber," and "Farmer." These familiars (in which goodly company doubtless the editor himself not seldom masqueraded), discoursed profoundly on the political situation, popular education, and the like; or perhaps, in bad weather, when Eastern mails were slow, on abstract subjects, such as "Laughing," "Gallantry," or "Women." In the issue for February 24, 1787, is a particularly wise "Philosophical, Historical, and Moral Essay on Old Maids."

No doubt, in their day, many of these contributions aroused strenuous discussion between host and guests at pikeside taverns and in neighborhood gatherings around blazing hearths in frontier cabins; and in truth they are not ill-reading in our own. There were philosophers in those backwoods settlements; and men who, though far from tidewater colleges, could weld apt phrases and put strong thoughts into vigorous English. As for Latin quotations, commonly used at that period of our culture to clinch weighty arguments, or delicately to embroider them with erudition, they were so profuse as to arouse the ire of one correspondent, who declares that a good English education is quite sufficient for the writers and readers of the *Gazette*.

Of poets, also, there were not a few; albeit now and then singing gruesomely, as in the prelude to an "Address to the Evening Star:"

Now nature seems as curtained from my sight
Now negro darkness mounts his ebony wane,
The tomb now renders up the sheeted spright,
Around dread horror, and sad silence reign.

It is characteristic of the files of the early American press that small attention was paid to local news. This

circumstance arose from the editorial theory then in vogue, that as every citizen in a small community is necessarily aware of neighborhood happenings, these are out of place in the local newspaper, whose function is to record most fully events occurring the farthest from home. The opposite policy is pursued by the shrewder journalists of our time, who have learned that the ordinary reader first and most eagerly seeks reports of events concerning which he is himself well informed; and that popular interest in news diminishes in proportion to distance from the local viewpoint.

We occasionally find in the news columns of the *Gazette*, mention of a neighborhood outrage by Indians, or a warning from the Indian agent that tribesmen are on the war-path; but local color must chiefly be sought in the advertisements, which unconsciously mirror social conditions on the frontier. For example, this announcement appears in the issue for May 23, 1787:

To be sold. A Negro Wench. She is an excellent cook, and can do any kind of work in doors or out of doors. She has been registered in Westmoreland County. Produce will be taken or cattle of any kind.

The scarcity of specie is illustrated by both the above and the following, appended to John and Daniel Craig's advertisement of their new general shop:

N. B. Beaver, fox, racoon, and muskrat skins taken as cash, or beef, pork, butter, and flour taken in part pay; likewise wood at the current selling price.

There appears to have been much trouble in the sparsely-settled backwoods, where means of escape were abundant, in keeping slaves and indented servants, for advertisements of runaways are frequent, with rewards ranging from two to fifteen dollars. Among the liberty-loving indented servants were many of Irish nationality, who doubtless had been "working out" their passage to America, but had grown impatient of a thralldom whose conditions often quite equalled those of actual slavery.

The advertisements in the *Gazette* reveal the gradual introduction into the West of fashionable luxuries, marking the advance of border prosperity. One shop announces the arrival of "Corduroys, velvets and velverets, best beaver fustian, modes and sattins, shalloons, duroys, durants, moreens, calimancoes, taboreens and camblets." While Mrs. Pride, who has established a "Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies" will teach "Plain Work, Coloured ditto, Flowering, Lace both by the bobin and needle, Fringing, Dresden, Tabouring, and Embroidering, also Reading English and Knitting *if required*." It is evident that in their attempt to be accomplished, some at least of the young women of early Pittsburgh were displaying evidence of "requiring" instructions in the reading of English.

The *Gazette* did not neglect its more serious business of inclining the minds of its subscribers, in a region naturally anti-Federalist, to favor Federalist doctrines, although the methods adopted were less demonstrative than those of our day. During its early issues, the new federal constitution was formulated at Philadelphia, and soon was being discussed throughout the length and breadth of the nation. On February 17, 1787, we find in the columns of our journal, notice of a call for a convention of delegates for "devising, deliberating on, and discussing such alteration as may be necessary to render the federal constitution fully equal to the exigencies of the union." Later, the constitution itself is printed, with such commentaries as Wilson's speech on the "Principles of the Federal Constitution." On November 9 of the same year there is announced a local meeting for the purpose of "taking the sense of this town with respect to the system of Confederate government proposed by the late Convention at Philadelphia." Gen. John Gibson occupied the chair, and a series of resolutions was adopted to the effect that "there being no reason to expect anything better or that anything more equal could be formed, Resolved that it is our ardent wish and hope that this system may speedily be adopted."

Although unwaveringly Federalist, the *Gazette* liberally opened its columns to political adversaries. Henry H.

Brackenridge, who in 1786 was Pittsburgh's member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, supported the new constitution for lack of "anything better," but on all questions of subsequent policy sided strongly with the Democrats, as in supporting the Whiskey Insurrection and the Jeffersonian system. He had edited a Philadelphia magazine in the early years of the Revolution, was accomplished in the arts of literary expression, and vigorous in controversy. So numerous and important were his contributions to the *Gazette*, that in 1806 he brought out a book entitled *Gazette Publications Collected*.

In the issue for March 1, 1788, an anonymous correspondent of the *Gazette* offers "Cursory Remarks on the Federal Constitution." Among the imperfections and possible dangers of that instrument is cited the important fact that no precaution has been taken with respect to the sex of the President, so that in process of time "we may have an old woman at the head of affairs." Nor is the ancestry of the senators assured, and they may in the course of time all be Irish or only Scotch-Irish.

Although thus generous to its opponents, perhaps because of it, this the only public journal west of the mountains proved a powerful factor in making the Pittsburgh district at first strongly Federal, despite its unmistakable tendency to the opposite direction. It also did a great service for the West, in 1794, by supporting the government throughout the Whiskey Insurrection.

On August 17, 1795, there was established at Washington, Pa., then the county town of the district, a Federalist paper, called *Western Telegraphe and Washington Advertiser*.⁶ Its motto, "Free, but not licentious," was an interpretation of Jeffersonian policy not relished by the Republican Democrats of that day.

⁶Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Penna.* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 406.

In *Early Western Travels*, iii, p. 347, Harris thus describes Washington: "A Court house and a large building for public offices, of brick; and a Gaol and an Academy of stone, with a large number of handsomely built dwelling-houses, give this town a very respectable appearance. It seems to be a place of considerable business & of thriving manufactories and trade."

Despite its early victories, the Federalist party was not securely intrenched in Western Pennsylvania, and was now waning. The only two journals of the region, however, were committed to that party, and the opposition felt that the time had arrived to found an organ of their own. In 1798, a printer named John D. Israel started such a paper at Washington, under the name of *Herald of Liberty*. Two years later, Israel inaugurated at Pittsburgh *The Tree of Liberty*, a journal of the same political faith, issued in conjunction with his Washington *Herald*.

It was understood that Brackenridge, just then appointed to the state supreme court, stood financial sponsor to the new enterprise. How long the *Tree* flourished, is not known, but it probably expired in the year 1806.

Brackenridge's type of Democracy was, however, not sufficiently radical for the Gallatin wing, now vigorously supporting Jefferson's administration, which was exceedingly popular on the western slope of the mountains. On July 24, 1805, therefore, Ephraim Pentland began publication at Pittsburgh of a radical Democratic organ, under the name of *The Commonwealth*—lineal predecessor of the present Pittsburgh *Post*. Six years later (September 26, 1811), James C. Gilleland established the *Mercury*, which in time absorbed the *Commonwealth*.⁷ Thus, at the close of our period, three papers contended for popularity and patronage in Pittsburgh: the original Federalist *Gazette*, still in the hands of John D. Scull, and the Democratic *Commonwealth* and *Mercury*.

By the close of the eighteenth century, the outlying country was supporting quite as many weekly newspapers as the patronage warranted. There has been noted the establishment at Washington of the Federalist *Western Telegraph* and the Democratic *Herald of Liberty*. On August 15, 1808, the *Washington Reporter* began its career under William Sample and B. Bunn, the former of whom continued its publication until 1833. There are also a few surviving issues of the *Western Corrector*, first issued at Washington in 1810, and of the *Western Missionary*

⁷ Killekelly, p. 485.

port some twenty-five miles below. The first, appearing in 1807, bore the classical title, *Minerva*; in the centre of its headline was a crude woodcut of the goddess of wisdom, supposed to preside over its destinies.¹¹ The second was the *Western Cabinet*, established by Joseph W. White on September 28, 1811, and certainly continued into the following year.

KENTUCKY—1787.

Settled and first organized as a district of Virginia, Kentucky filled up rapidly after the close of the Revolution, and by the time of the adoption of the federal constitution was ambitious for statehood. Several conventions were held at Danville, the seat of the district court, to pass resolutions and take steps to this end. But an agitation of such importance could not successfully be carried on by means of speeches and written documents alone; it seemed essential to introduce a printing press into the nascent commonwealth.

Given the necessity, the man to meet it was soon at hand. John Bradford, a native Virginian, who had served in the Revolutionary army, and came to Kentucky with the great wave of Western emigration following that struggle, had learned the printing trade in Virginia. At the conclusion of one of the Danville conventions he called upon Gen. James Wilkinson, active in its affairs, and offered to establish a press providing the members of the convention would assure him, as they promptly did, of their patronage and moral support. In July, 1786, a date identical with the birth of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the town of Lexington voted Bradford a free lot, upon which he built a log printery.

The then metropolis of Kentucky was founded later than its sister towns of Boonesborough and Harrodsburgh; but being in a flourishing district, and on the main trails between the Ohio and Kentucky rivers, it gained rapidly in importance and population, until at the close of the eighteenth century it sheltered perhaps a thousand souls

¹¹ Joseph M. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Penna.* (New York, 1904,) pp. 454, 455.

K E N T U C K E G A Z E T T E,

S A T U R D A Y, MARCH 15, 1788.

L E X I N G T O N : Printed and Sold by JOHN and FLEMING BRADFORD, at their Printing-Office in Main Street, where Subscriptions are taken (77 Ann.) Advertisements, &c. for this paper, are thankfully received, and PUBLISHED in its different branches done with Care and Expedition. Advertisements of no more length than breadth, are inserted for 3¢ the first time and 2¢ each time after and long ones in proportion.

Extras from the journals of a convention begun and held for the district of Kentucky at Danville in the county of Mercer on the 17th day of September 1787.

RESOLVED by the representatives of the good people of the district of Kentucky in convention assembled, that it is expedient for and the will of the same, that the said district be referred into a separate and independent state, on the terms and conditions specified in the two acts of assembly, one entitled "An act concerning the erection of the district of Kentucky into an independent state," the other entitled "An act making further provision for the erecting of the district of Kentucky into an independent state."

RESOLVED that this convention do fix the thirtieth day of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty eighth, to be the time on which the authority of the commonwealth of Virginia and of its laws over the district of Kentucky shall cease and determine forever, under the exceptions specified in the act entitled "an act concerning the erection of the district of Kentucky into an

per rules of proceedings; to consider, and by a majority of votes, establish a fundamental Constitution of government, for the proposed state; and declare what laws shall be in force therein, until they are abrogated or altered by the legislative authority, acting under the Constitution so to be framed and established.

RESOLVED, that three members of the said convention assembled, shall be a sufficient number to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs for supplying vacancies which may happen from deaths, resignations, or refusal to act.

RESOLVED, that in case there shall be no sheriff within the respective counties of the district of Kentucky, at the time the several elections are directed to be held for the election of the said members of Convention, that any two acting magistrates, who may be present on the day of holding the said elections, be appointed commissioners to superintend and conduct the said elections, and to make returns in the same manner as the sheriffs are directed to do.

A true copy from the minutes.

THOMAS TODD, C. C.

THE subscriber takes this method to inform the public that he has taken up the blue dyes, business in (Hempwell) Bouson, and will take in Hemp, Flax and Cotton thread to dye. Those who will please to favour him with their custom may depend on being faithfully served by

ADAM McFERSON.

THE public should be cautious how they deal with a certain cap. John Martin of Lincoln county, as that man has lately taken advantage of the law in pleading the limitation act, and that only, because he has been indulged nearly three years. This I hope will be a sufficient warning to the citizens of Kentucky particularly those in business.

Danville, Dec. 4, 1787. 29 M. NAGLE.

clipped from Eastern papers. Foreign news was regarded as of the first importance, often four of the six columns being filled with trans-Atlantic information six months old. Here again, local color must be obtained from the advertisements, and the fierce political controversies waged in the hospitable pages of the *Gazette*.

Political discussion of our Western border has never been characterized by an excess of deference to an opponent's opinions, or by over-indulgence as to his personal shortcomings. To the *Gazette's* contributors may fairly be assigned the credit of setting the pace for those amenities which have ever since been considered the especial prerogative of Kentucky politicians. Jordan Harris, in the course of an attack on his fellow-citizen, Humphrey Marshall, called him:

Mr. Grubbs * * * the little mischievous, night-working worm. * * * It will be in vain for me to say that Mr. Grubbs is so contemptible he would disgrace the dignity of revenge.

To which Marshall promptly responded:

Mr. Harris must also excuse me if I do not take the least notice of him. I have taken my leave of that humble transcriber or mere contemptible tool of party. It already begins to be whispered about that to save themselves he is their common prostitute to public censure; and that through him they drain off all their filth and humors.

There is also the personal note in not a few of the advertisements. For example:

Reuben Proctor has my note whereon is due one copper still and one cow, the consideration for which I gave it is land in Bourbon County, for which I have received no title, the note is supposed to be made over to his confederates as it is reported he is run off, for which I give the public caution to prevent any person from taking the assignment of said obligation, as I will pay no part till all the land for which it was given is secured to me in fee simple clear of dispute.

Husbands advertise the desertion of their wives, and forbid all mankind from giving credit to the absentees; now and then a wife replies in proper spirit to the animadversions of her former lord.

On March 15, 1788, is broached a plan to poison invading Indians with articles impregnated with arsenic, and all persons are warned not to touch the wheat, corn, and potatoes left at certain deserted houses, where the redskin raiders are wont to stop.

In an invitation for bids for a frame meeting-house at Lexington, it is specified that payment will be taken in stock and country produce, such as cattle, whiskey, wheat, and rye.

New town-sites are also advertised. Especially noteworthy in this connection is the announcement of a company which is soon to start for the mouth of Licking River to found a settlement on Judge Symmes's grant on the opposite side of the Ohio—the modern Cincinnati.

Indians were still apt to hang upon the flanks of caravans along Boone's old Wilderness Road, and in times of alarm it was necessary to organize strong parties to make the journey to and from Virginia and the Carolinas. Such announcements as the following are not infrequent:

Notice is hereby given that a number of gentlemen propose meeting at the Crab Orchard sunday the fifteenth of June in perfect readiness to make an early start on monday the sixteenth through the Wilderness.

Lands are advertised for sale, or desired for purchase. Rewards are offered for stray cattle and runaway negroes. Mechanics are desired: for instance, "A man skilled in keeping saw-mill can find employment." A tutor and a dancing master offer their services. The "Lexington Society of Improvement in Knowledge" announces the time of its meetings. Ebenezer Brookes calls attention to his terms for "Lattin scholars;" and in October, 1788, James Graham informs the public that a Seminary for Education will immediately be opened in Lexington.

Such is the character of material for the history of the West, to be found in the columns of the *Kentucke Gazette*. There is less comment on the new form of federal government than in the contemporary *Pittsburgh Gazette*, but now and again there is something on the form of the proposed

constitution for Kentucky, for which a gradual negro emancipation clause is wisely but ineffectually being urged.

Bradford had the requisite ingenuity for a backwoods printer, and whittled from basswood (linden) blocks large letters and ornaments, besides small cuts for his advertisements of horses, groves of trees, etc., and from these made tolerable impressions with which to illustrate his diminutive journal. For eight years, it was without a competitor in the new state. In 1795, however, James H. Stewart began at Lexington the *Kentucky Herald*, and the following year superseded Bradford as state printer. But at the close of a year, the latter was reinstated, and in 1802 bought out his rival. After 1804, the paper was printed, under the same name, at Paris.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, one or two ephemeral sheets were published at Lexington (such as the *Independent Gazetteer*, begun March 29, 1803), but not until 1808 was there again serious competition. On March 12 of that year, William W. Worsley and Samuel W. Overton started a strong Jeffersonian organ, the *Reporter*. Overton soon retired, and Worsley remained its sole editor until 1816. Later, it became the *Observer and Reporter*, and under that name was published continuously until 1873, having in its long career many able and influential editors.¹⁸

Worsley displayed far more enterprise than most of his Western contemporaries. He arranged for special correspondence from Washington. Not content with waiting for the arrival in due course of the weekly post, bearing this important letter, together with copies of the Eastern press for clipping, he despatched each Friday a negro servant to meet the carrier on the Wilderness Road and hurry back to Lexington with the office mail. By this means, the *Reporter* was enabled to give the public much earlier service than had the editor waited on the carrier's deliberate movements. At one time this black messenger, called by the Lexingtonians "Worsley's Man Friday," from the

¹⁸ William Henry Perrin, "Pioneer Presses of Kentucky," in *Filson Club Publications*, No. 3, pp. 18-22.

day of his exploit, was waterbound, and a canoe despatched to his relief.

There have come down to us from the energetic Worseley his letter files, miscellaneous office memoranda, and much unused "copy," to-day carefully preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library.¹⁴ These documents throw quite as much light on the political and social life of the frontier, as does the *Reporter* itself; for we have here the grist for the editorial mill. The field of his correspondence ranged from Detroit on the north to New Orleans and Mobile on the south, and from St. Louis eastward to Richmond and the seaboard cities.

A Boston correspondent writes to the editor concerning a reappearance of the immemorial and ubiquitous sea-serpent, and deprecates the popular incredulity concerning that reptile. A nearer correspondent wishes a Euclid for his son, and would the editor please obtain it for him. Thomas C. Flourney, a candidate for public position, confidentially sends to the newspaper office the manuscript of a speech that he had intended to deliver at a certain barbecue; he explains that when he arrived belated at the scene of festivities, dancing had begun, and the candidate was given to understand that speechmaking was undesired—but here is the text of the still-born address, to receive such treatment as the editor thinks best. An account reaches the *Reporter* of a political quarrel, in which one McKinley, dubbed by the correspondent "a poltroon and assassin," had villified Jefferson; whereupon Col. James Johnson falls on the offender, and a characteristic fist-fight follows. The Colonel's brother Richard, later vice-president of the United States, issues his version of the encounter in the form of a handbill, in which McKinley is challenged to mortal combat.

During the War of 1812-15, one of the staff writers on the *Reporter* served in the army. The paper not only strongly upheld the American point of view in this conflict, but collected and forwarded clothing for the Kentucky volunteers.

¹⁴"Worseley Papers," in the Draper MSS.

Two other papers were also established at Lexington during our period. The *Impartial Observer*, founded by B. Guerin and E. Prentiss in August, 1807, apparently had but a brief existence. The *American Statesman* was first printed at Lexington, July 20, 1811, by Thomas T. Skillman for Watson & Overton. On the following April 18, Samuel E. Watson retired from the firm and by the succeeding year the journal was being published by Shadrach Penn, Jr., under the name of *American Statesman and Columbian Register*. Later (1818) Penn was editor of the first Western daily at Louisville.

Not far from Limestone (Maysville), was the promising town of Washington. Here, in 1797, William Hunter and William H. Beaumont—who had for a time published at Washington, Pa., the second journal in that state, on the western slope of the Alleghanies—began the publication of the *Mirror*. But the Kentucky Washington did not promise well for a man of Hunter's ability and ambition, so the following year he went to Frankfort, the backwoods capital of the new state. Here, in November, 1795, Benjamin J. Bradford had established the *Kentucky Journal*, which apparently enjoyed but a short life. In May, 1798, the Lexington *Kentucke Gazette* had started at Frankfort a local edition, loftily styled *Guardian of Freedom*, designed chiefly to secure the state printing. Hunter, however, thought this branch enterprise unworthy of so promising a town as Frankfort, and on August 8 of that year issued the first number of the *Palladium, a Literary and Political Weekly Repository*, which from the beginning was considered a success. The Washington *Mirror* not turning out so happily on the financial side, Hunter and Beaumont dissolved partnership and the *Mirror* was suspended; thereafter the former devoted himself exclusively to the Frankfort *Palladium*.

In some respects, this new journal was much the best-conducted newspaper thus far seen in the West. The type was clearer and better, the paper larger, the news more carefully collected and classified, and the editorial work more systematically and consistently done, than in any

other paper beyond the Alleghanies. In fact, the *Palladium* will in many respects bear comparison with its Eastern contemporaries, and its influence throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, and even as far as the Mississippi settlements was considerable.

In the first number the proprietors state that "provided with the best materials, and aided by several years' experience in the line of their profession, joined to a general knowledge of the public spirit of this Town and its flourishing Neighbourhood, the Editors sanguinely anticipate the most flattering success." Apparently, subscribers readily sent in their names; but during the early years of the enterprise, collections were slow. Editorial appeals to delinquents are frequently encountered in the file of the *Palladium*, and in no uncertain terms patrons are informed that it takes ready cash to run a newspaper. However, Hunter secured the state printing during his first year in Frankfort and kept it for ten years, apparently at a comfortable profit; he could therefore afford to wait until he had trained his subscribers to a keener appreciation of the needs of the counting room. In this attempt he appears at last to have been successful, for at the beginning of the fourth year of publication the editor gratefully returns thanks for the generous patronage received, and declares that "the circulation far exceeds his most sanguine expectations." He thereupon magnanimously reduced the subscription rate to \$2 a year.

Hunter's early adventures had well prepared him for success in the region with whose fortunes he was finally allied. Born in New Jersey, he early went to sea, and being captured by a French man-of-war was carried a prisoner to France. There he learned the language of that people and with it the trade of printing, besides coming to understand and sympathize with the French revolutionary movement, without becoming a pronounced Jacobin. Soon after his return to Philadelphia in 1793, he set out for the West, as has already been narrated, hoping there to find congenial residence and scope for his talents. As may be supposed, his politics were strongly anti-Federalist;

he supported the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions against the Alien and Sedition Acts, and rejoiced in the election of Jefferson. In all this, his new neighbors in Kentucky sincerely sympathized, and the *Palladium* became the oracle of Western statesmen.

As an example of his enterprise, may be mentioned the extra issued on Monday, November 29, 1802, giving an account of the closing of the port of New Orleans to American exports. When, the following year, war was declared between France and England, a mid-weekly handbill was issued to subscribers. Upon news of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States reaching Kentucky, in the early summer of 1803, the editor's acumen was sufficient to declare it "an event more interesting than any that has occurred since our independence." In October following, a correspondent announces from Wheeling that Capt. Meriwether Lewis has passed down the Ohio on his way to explore the Northern and Western Countries. During the Burr difficulties and the revelation of Spanish intrigues, the *Palladium* was strongly Democratic and defensive.

In 1808, Hunter, by this time accorded the courtesy title of "Colonel," sold the journal to two of his printers. But the heyday of the publication closed with the retirement of its founder; and while issued probably until after 1826, it gradually sank into obscurity. In the last-named year we find Colonel Hunter essaying a Louisville paper; but he and his methods and thought belonged to another age in the rapidly developing West, and the new venture was unsuccessful. He was therefore content to take, as a recognition of his political services, a clerkship at the federal capital, where he died in 1854.¹⁵

We now come to the romantic episode of the Frankfort *Western World*, one of the most interesting chapters in the long and eventful history of trans-Alleghany journalism. After the cession of Louisiana to the United States, and the apparent removal of foreign friction from our southwestern borders, it was expected by most observers that the Western country would lapse into a period of quiet prosperity,

¹⁵ Perrin, pp. 24-26.

unbroken by political intrigue. But the restlessness engendered during the two previous decades was not easily allayed, and under the lead of Aaron Burr, former vice-president of the United States, a conspiracy was formed whose purpose, objects, and methods are not even yet revealed in their entirety. The political situation in the West fostered these obscure designs, and gave them a prominence they might otherwise not have obtained. The party dominant in the trans-Alleghany region was the Jeffersonian, whose leaders had in 1785-92 agitated for the statehood of Kentucky without being altogether scrupulous as to the means by which their independence should be secured. Strong, masterful pioneer spirits, the interests of the West, as they saw them, had been their focus. When it seemed possible that Congress would yield the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, the air of Kentucky was rent with threats of secession from the Union. The situation beyond the mountains was closely watched by the little coterie of European diplomats at the national capital. Better, apparently, than many of our own statesmen on the Atlantic coast, these Europeans recognized the potentiality of the West. They viewed with prophetic vision its broad, fertile lands, its wide-stretching forests, its promise of mineral wealth, its great rivers bearing fleets of produce-laden flatboats to the seaports of the Gulf; and in its rapidly-growing settlements discerned the beginnings of empire. With largeness of view, they saw the folly of allowing these brave and brawny folk to fret at the bonds of a coast-bound Union, whose officials seemed not to consider the needs of Americans living behind the hills; and among the diplomats were those who took advantage of the crisis.

For twenty years the emissaries of Spain, France, and Great Britain busied themselves in Kentucky and Tennessee, and but few prominent men in that region were unapproached by them. Of these plotters, the most persistent, wily, and secretive were the Spaniards, who because of their Mexican possessions feared this turbulent frontier power, and desired to make terms with it for their

own preservation. During several years, Spanish agents expended a considerable sum in bribes and pensions to secure the interest of those most influential in Western politics. Few Kentuckians were sufficiently venal to accept their money; many, however, lent a willing ear to proposed plans of Spanish alliances, or of filibustering expeditions against their territory. Such schemes were natural enough in the disorganized condition of the eighties, but had a sinister complexion when aired in the settled times of twenty years later. For this reason, the Republican-Democratic leaders in the West, many of whom had been concerned in these intrigues, desired above all things silence regarding the past. This condition they would no doubt have maintained had it not been for Aaron Burr, and the editors and backers of the *Western World*.

One autumn day in 1805, the people of the little log capital of Kentucky welcomed a small caravan of travelers from far-off Virginia, who had tramped or ridden a-horseback over the dangerous and toilsome Wilderness Road. Among the party were two footsore pedestrians, whose coming created small comment, for the country was accustomed to the almost daily arrival of adventurers, concerning whose antecedents and purposes it were best not to enquire too closely.

The elder of the twain was John Wood, a Scotchman who had been a political hack-writer and newspaper worker in New York, and at one time had held an obscure connection with Aaron Burr. Drifting into Virginia, Wood had won the ardent admiration of Joseph Montford Street, a spirited, impulsive, and promising young Virginian, and proposed to him a newspaper enterprise either in Kentucky or New Orleans. Because of political enemies in New York, intimated Wood, he would remain the silent member of the firm, leaving to Street the resulting publicity and honors—also, it was understood, financial and personal obligations.

The politics of the active member were as unsettled as his plans. Early associations caused Street to lean towards Democracy, but he aimed to establish an independent

journal whose columns should be open to all shades of opinion; such was the dream of this inexperienced, optimistic youth, in an atmosphere surcharged with political passion. Having the acquaintance of William Worseley of Lexington, who had not yet established his *Reporter*, Street received from him encouraging advice.¹⁶

As for the silent partner, he proved to be an active political adventurer, his services for sale to the highest bidder, while ready to embrace every opportunity for exploiting sensations. During the winter of 1805-06, while waiting for their enterprise to develop, Wood learned much of the inner political history of the trans-Alleghany. In particular, he came into intimate relations with the so-called "Marshall clan," a rich and powerful family, near relatives of the great chief-justice. The Marshalls were the heart and soul of the Federalist party, now on the decline in Kentucky, and entertained personal and political animosity toward the leaders of the Democratic party, then in power. The chief of the clan was Humphrey Marshall, captious and irascible as an opponent, and allied both in blood and temper to the more famous objector, John Randolph of Roanoke. The integrity of Humphrey Marshall was, however, unquestioned; he had never sullied his honor nor stooped to subterfuge. From him Wood learned many details of the more or less shady political life of some of the leading Kentucky statesmen, especially their relations with Spanish intriguants, and in this saw his opportunity.

The impressionable young Street was still under the influence of his partner, and eagerly anticipating the establishment of an "independent" journal that, standing on a high plane of political morality, should be fearless in exposing intrigue. He was quite devoid of financial resources; but Worseley gave him credit for materials, and William Hunter of the *Palladium*, a journal now eight years old, generously allowed him the use of his own press, although later he became one of the new editor's strongest opponents. The subscription list was backed by the Marshall faction, and

¹⁶ Street's own account in the file of the *Western World*.

when the first number of the *Western World* appeared (July 5, 1806), it was assured of a considerable constituency.

The *World* was an innocent-looking little sheet of four pages, "published for Joseph M. Street and Company, Frankfort, Ky." But had an earthquake occurred in the small capital of Kentucky, there could not have been greater excitement; for this opening number had for its leader an article entitled the "Spanish Conspiracy." Ostensibly, it was an innocent historical review of the days of pre-Kentucky statehood. Practically, it was a sensational exposé of the political history of Harry Innes, judge of the United States district court, Benjamin Sebastian, judge of the court of appeals, John Brown, first United States senator from Kentucky, and other Democratic leaders high in the councils of the nation and the state.

As the issues continued, each week brought out additional details of the Spanish Conspiracy and many side reflections upon political worthies of the day. The *Kentucke Gazette* of Lexington, and the *Palladium* of Frankfort sprang to the defense. Accusations and counter-accusations flew back and forth, like shuttle-cocks, libel suits were commenced in the courts, and more than questionable means were taken in the hope of silencing the audacious Street. Wood had secretly been the instigator of the disturbance; but Street, as the real owner and editor of the paper, sincerely believed that the *Western World* was in this matter doing a genuine service to Kentucky. Although young and as yet far from worldly wise, he did not lack courage, and shirked no responsibility. Being challenged to a duel by Preston Brown, younger brother of John and James, both of whom had been attacked in the revelations, he came out of the affair with credit, according to the most exacting interpretations of the code. Having now proved his coolness under fire, Street thereafter disdained to accept challenges, and published them in his paper with sarcastic comment. In the issue of November 2, 1806, we find, for example, this announcement:

A formal challenge was yesterday received from W. W. Cooke. As others of the same description of persons are only waiting

to hear the fate of this in order to make like applications, Mr. Street has concluded to file them regularly as they are received and from time to time give a list of them in the *Western World*, for the information of the public at large. * * * An ode comprising a versification of the challenge will appear in our next.

Once, an assemblyman named Adams sought in a public doorway to assassinate the editor. The latter was wounded by a pistol shot, but succeeded in knocking the weapon from the hand of his antagonist, and with a dirk forcing him into the open. For some weeks Street's life was despaired of, and he never entirely recovered from this early wound.¹⁷

As a consequence of this notoriety, the *Western World* had before the end of its fourth month won a circulation of twelve hundred copies, which in that day was regarded as phenomenal. In fact, nobody who pretended to an interest in public affairs could afford to miss its issues.

The *Western World's* second sensation was the furthering of the prosecution of Aaron Burr. Joseph H. Daviess, a Federalist, connected with the Marshall family, and then United States district attorney, prosecuted Burr in the federal court for Kentucky. Supported by his counsel, Henry Clay¹⁸ and John Allen, Burr himself appeared in court and gracefully and impressively refuting his accusers, secured from the grand jury a judgment of non-suit. At a ball given in honor of this event, Street was forcibly ejected from the ball-room; he took his revenge in a satirical ode, addressed to the ladies, from whom he pretended to seek the arbitration of his claims.

Meanwhile, events moved fast in the Western country. On November 27, 1806, appeared President Jefferson's proclamation denouncing Burr, and shortly after this the plotter was arrested in Mississippi. The surmises of the Kentucky Federalists were thus justified, and the *Western World* triumphed over its adversaries. But in the mean-

¹⁷ Kentucky Historical Society *Register*, September, 1906.

¹⁸ Clay was at this time ignorant of the true character of Burr. Afterwards he became a friend and supporter of Street, and gave definite expression to his goodwill and confidence in the integrity of the latter's motives.

time its silent partner, Wood, had turned traitor. Corrupted by the dominant faction, he at first attempted to silence Street; but finding this impossible, for the active editor was not of that sort, and now scorned the man who had taught him to be a Federalist, the discredited Wood left for the national capital. There he was soon publishing the *Atlantic World*, and feebly seeking to bolster the cause of Burr, whom he had done so much to expose to public censure.

For another year the game was played with varying fortunes. Judge Sebastian was impeached, and resigned under proven guilt. Burr was acquitted, but with ignominy. The task of the *Western World* had been accomplished; but by this time anti-Federalism revived in Kentucky, and Federalism correspondingly declined. Street was sued for libel by Judge Innes, who obtained from a prejudiced jury a measure of damages sufficient to bring financial ruin to the defendant. He sold out his establishment to two of his printers, who kept the paper afloat for a few months, but by 1810 the enterprise collapsed.

Street's later career is worth noting here, as typical of border life. Removing to Illinois, he secured in 1827, through his friend Henry Clay, appointment to the Indian agency at Prairie du Chien, Wis. Therein he was a faithful public servant, and throughout the Winnebago and Black Hawk uprisings was discreet and efficient. But by very reason of this efficiency he encountered the hostility of the great fur companies, who did not approve his desire to civilize and educate the unfortunate and wayward red men. The traders succeeded in securing his removal from the Winnebago agency; but as good Indian agents were rare, he was soon reappointed to the service, being placed this time in charge of the trans-Mississippi Sauk and Foxes, in Iowa, where he died in 1840.¹⁹

Upon the demise of the *Western World*, Humphrey Marshall established at Frankfort the *American Republic* (began June 26, 1810), pledged to support Federalism.

¹⁹ *Annals of Iowa*, third series, ii, pp. 82-105.

This, with the *Palladium*, and the *Argus of Western America* (founded in 1808), sufficiently supplied the Frankfort public until the close of our period.²⁰

The history of the Louisville press is more prosaic than that of Frankfort. Founded in 1778 by George Rogers Clark, as a basis of his operations against the British in the Illinois, the settlement at the Falls of the Ohio was for many years so exposed to the danger of Indian forays that its growth was slow. The nineteenth century had opened before the town had either church, school, or newspaper.

In 1793, at the little Vermont village of Fairhaven, on Lake Champlain, there was established a local newspaper called the *Farmer's Library*, owned and edited by an Irish politician, Matthew Lyon, Fairhaven's founder and most prominent citizen. His head-printer, obtained from Windsor, was the well-known Judah P. Spooner, founder of the printing craft in Vermont, and uncle of Wyman Spooner, later one of Wisconsin's lieutenant-governors. With Spooner and Lyon was associated as apprentice to the trade, a young man born of a good family in Windsor, named Samuel Vail.²¹

Elected to Congress in 1797 as an anti-Federalist, Lyon engaged the following year in a notorious encounter with a fellow member, Roger Griswold; and having written and published a scurrilous letter concerning the President was one of the first victims of the Alien and Sedition laws,²² being fined \$1,000 (later remitted by special act of Congress) and imprisoned for four months. After serving out the greater part of a second term in Congress, to which he was triumphantly re-elected by his admiring constituents, Lyon concluded to emigrate to Kentucky, a region better suited to his Democratic sentiments and pugnacious manner.

In 1800 he set out for the trans-Alleghany, taking Vail with him, and type, paper, and press followed them over the mountains on pack-horses. Finding that Louisville was without a newspaper, the newcomers determined

²⁰ Perrin, pp. 42-49.

²¹ Genealogy of Vail family (New York, 1902).

²² John Bach McMaster, *History of the United States* (New York, 1885), ii. pp. 363-366.

to make their stand in that village, where on January 12, 1801, appeared the *Farmer's Library, or Ohio Intelligencer*, named after its Vermont predecessor, and ostensibly edited and published by Vail. Lyon had furnished the outfit; but as he withdrew from Louisville after about two years, Vail bought out his interest and continued the journal on his own account. The sheet was insignificant in size, and only fragmentary files now exist.²³

It is not necessary here to follow the subsequent varied and picturesque career of Lyon as Kentucky legislator and Congressman, and Congressional delegate from Arkansas; but of Vail it may be said that his mercurial temperament easily led him into comradeship with the wild young men of the early West. A law case is on record, wherein he sued a neighbor for \$45, for "cash won from you at vantoan"—a phonetic rendition of the French game, *vingt-et-un*. At the end of seven years of editorial life, which probably yielded him but a slender income, he secured a commission in the regular army, distinguished himself for gallantry on the battlefield of New Orleans, and retired to civil life, finally settling down as a planter in Louisiana.

Several other journalistic experiments were undertaken in Louisville during the first decade of the nineteenth century. A paper called *Western American*, begun at Bardstown September 6, 1803, was two years later removed to Louisville. Its owner, Francis Peniston, a type of the wandering and often poverty-stricken editor and printer of the time, migrated thence to St. Louis, but in 1814 we find him proposing to establish the *Backwoodsman* at Lexington. On November 24, 1807, there was established the *Louisville Gazette and Western Advertiser*, published for a few months by Joseph Charless, who founded the first newspaper in St. Louis. In 1810, there was also a *Louisville Correspondent*.

But the first permanently successful paper at this place was the *Western Courier*, begun by Nicholas Clarke in 1811. Although not attaining even the relative altitude of its later namesake, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Western*

²³ Perrin, pp. 28-38.

Courier was nevertheless one of the best and most influential journals of its day, in the trans-Alleghany. Mann Butler, later historian of Kentucky and equally known as a classical student, was for awhile one of its editors. During the War of 1812-15, the *Courier* performed equal service with the *Lexington Reporter* in fanning the flame of patriotism, and in the display of enterprise in securing reports from the seat of war.

When Col. George Croghan, the brilliant young hero of the defense of Fort Stephenson, returned to his family home near Louisville to visit his father, the *Courier* indulged in glowing editorial comments, and its report of the banquet tendered him and the toasts drunk, was written in an enthusiastic vein. For the hero of the occasion, this sentiment was proposed:

Col. Croghan—the son of a gallant soldier of the Revolution, and the nephew of Gen. George Rogers Clark. Well might he be expected to perform his duty and well *has* he performed it.

With too great optimism, the final toast was worded:

The combined Armies of the North—with the talents and patriotism of experienced Generals, aided by a just cause, in sanguinary hope, the American standard is waving triumphantly at Montreal.

References to new steamboats on Western waters abound in the files of the *Courier* for 1815 and 1816. We are insistently told that too long have the Western people been tributary to the waggoners of Pennsylvania and Maryland. On December 17, 1815, the steamer "Ætna" arrived at Louisville from New Orleans in fifteen and a third days, or 368 hours; proving, says the editor, not only the possibility, but the practicability of stemming the current of these mighty waters. Thus were the rapidly changing conditions of the West weekly chronicled in the pages of its early press.

Aside from the three centres of Kentucky population—Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville—several of the smaller towns of the growing State secured public journals previous to the second war with Great Britain.

The appendix to the present article lists thirty-three files; but most of these papers were extremely short-lived. The chief exception to this statement is found in the *Western Citizen*, begun at Paris in 1808, and continued under the same name until 1878. For over fifty years of this time, it was in the hands of the Lyles, father and son.

The first Western magazine appears to have been *The Medley, or Monthly Miscellany*, published in Lexington for one year only, in 1803, by Daniel Bradford. Its contents comprised essays, short stories, and poems, both original and selected. An original article on the "Character of Thomas Jefferson," by Allen B. Magruder, was widely copied and miscredited to the *London Times*. The very existence of this early magazine had been quite forgotten until a bound volume was, some thirty years ago, discovered in the Lexington Library.²⁴

OHIO—1793.

It will be remembered that towards the close of 1788 the *Kentucke Gazette* announced the first settlement on Judge Symmes's grant on the north side of the Ohio, at the modern Cincinnati. Five years later (1793) this hamlet, which thus early had given promise of a considerable future, welcomed its first newspaper, entitled *Centinel of the North Western Territory*. The originator and editor of this little sheet was William Maxwell, a young immigrant from New Jersey, next year appointed postmaster. He adopted a liberal policy, as evidenced by his motto: "Open to all parties, influenced by none." But few examples of this publication, scarcely larger than an ordinary handkerchief, are known to exist.²⁵ In the copy for April 12, 1794,²⁶ the London news, as usual given the greatest prominence, is dated four and a half months earlier, while that from New

²⁴ W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), pp. 58-61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40. See account of Maxwell's later career in C. B. Galtbreath, "Early Newspapers of Ohio," in *Ohio State Library Report*, 1901, pp. 3-16; and "First Newspaper of the Northwest Territory," in *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Publications*, xiii, pp. 332-349.

²⁶ Purchased by the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society at Cincinnati for \$148.

York had been fifty-six days in transit, and the report of Marietta happenings was eight days old. After three years of indifferent success "in stemming the rising tide of poverty," Maxwell disposed of the business to Edward Freeman, who at once changed the name of his new possession to *Freeman's Journal*. As such, the publication was continued until probably some time in 1801 when, having removed to the new capital at Chillicothe, its proprietor died, and with him the *Journal*.

Meanwhile, a rival purveyor of news had appeared, the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, whose first number was dated May 28, 1799. The secondary title was soon dropped, but the *Western Spy* made for itself more than a local reputation. Its founder was Joseph Carpenter, one of the earliest New Englanders to settle at Cincinnati, and a man whose personal popularity contributed largely to such professional success as he managed to win.

The *Spy* was alert to serve the young community, and in many directions was a progressive and enterprising journal. While somewhat inclined to Federalism it was not aggressively political. Having secured the privilege of printing the Territorial laws, Carpenter announces in his number for April 9, 1800, that there will be no issue for three weeks, because of the pressing necessity of publishing the acts of legislature. Again, in June, 1801, the *Spy* suspended for three weeks because its stock of print paper had been exhausted.

One gathers little from its news columns that may be considered local in character; but the advertisements, as usual, throw some light on early life in the West. For instance: In April, 1802, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee advertises for a runaway slave, offering \$50 reward for his return. The same year, a town library is reported to be in process of formation; and the first school for young ladies will teach reading for 250 cents a quarter, reading and sewing for \$3.00, and reading, writing, and sewing for fifty cents additional.²⁷

²⁷ *Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 256.

T H E

CENTINEL of the North-Western TERRITORY,

Open to all parties—but influenced by none.

(Vol. I.)

S A T U R D A Y , November 9, 1793.

(Num. I.)

The Printer of the CENTINEL of the North-Western TERRITORY, to the Public.

HAVING arrived at *Cincinnati*, he has applied himself to that which has been the principal object of his removal to this country, the Publication of a *News-Paper*.

This country is in its infancy, and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, not content with taking away the lives of men in the field, have swept away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of a regular and certain trade shows the *Missippi*, deprives this country in a great measure, of money at the present time. These are discouragements, nevertheless, I am led to believe the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press* from its known utility will receive proper encouragement. And on my part an edacious with small gains, at the present, flattering myself that from at-

ment of public spirit will consider the undertaking as a proper object of attention, and not content merely their own personal interest, but the interest of the public and the coming time.

The MONK.

C A L A I S.

A POOR monk of the order of St. Francis came into the room to beg something for his convent. No man cares to have his virtues the sport of contumacious—or one man may be generous, as another man is puffed—*Ad non, quo ad hanc*—or be as it may—for there is no regular rearing upon the ebbs and flows of our humors; they may depend upon the same causes, for again I know, which influence the tides themselves—would oft be no discredit to us suppose it was so; I'm sure at least for myself, that in many a case I should be more highly fatigued, to have it said by

The rest of his outline may be given in a few strokes; one might put it into the hands of any one to design, for 'twas neither elegant nor otherwise, but as character and expression made it so: it was a thin, spare, form something above the common size, if it lost not the distinction by a bend forwards in the figure—but it was the attitude of entreaty; and as it now stands presented to my imagination, it gained more than it lost by it.

When he had entered the room three paces, he stood still; and laying his left hand upon his breast, (a slender white fluff with which he journey'd being in his sight)—when I had got close up to him, he introduced himself with the little story of the wants of his convent, and the poverty of his order—and did it with so simple a grace—and such an air of deprecation was there in the whole cast of his look and figure—I was bewitched not to have been struck with it—better reason was, I had predetermined to give him a single fous.

After ten years of publication, in which prosperity freely alternated with financial difficulties, Carpenter sold the *Western Spy* to David Carney, who changed its name to the *Whig*, which made its bow to the public on April 13, 1809.

In the second number of the *Whig*, Carney announces that he has associated with himself Ephraim Morgan, "a young man well-known for his good morals and close attention to business." Despite this cheerful prospect the *Whig* put forth only fifty-eight numbers, and thereafter the paper became the *Advertiser*, which was established June 13, 1810, and continued throughout the War of 1812-15. Morgan afterwards became associated with the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

Meanwhile, Carpenter had begun a new *Western Spy*, the first number of which was sent out in 1810. Carpenter himself enlisted in the volunteer militia in 1812, and attained the rank of captain. Dying two years later, from exposure in the line of duty, he was accorded the honor of a military funeral. The paper was continued after his death, being finally merged (1823) into the *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*.²⁸

We come now to the ancestor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, which previous to the War of Secession became one of the best known and most influential dailies in the Mississippi Valley. This little sheet was known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, and even after merging with the *Gazette* in 1815, the weekly edition of the latter was for some time issued as *Liberty Hall*, a title that had endeared itself to hundreds of subscribers.

The founder of this pioneer journal, established in 1804, was Rev. John W. Browne, an original and interesting personality in early Ohio, member of its first constitutional convention, and "printer of the laws of the United States." He was a pronounced Republican-Democrat and supported the Jeffersonian policy with vigor.

With the elder Browne was associated in 1809 his brother Samuel, later (1824) editor of the *Cincinnati Emporium*.

²⁸ *Cincinnati and Hamilton County*, p. 256.

Upon the death of the senior editor, early in 1813, Samuel took into partnership his chief printer, J. H. Looker, a relative of Governor Othniel Looker, and the statement is at that time made that the enterprise was an unexampled success, having two thousand subscribers. Undoubtedly this was a larger circulation than that of any other Ohio Valley paper during the period under consideration.

Liberty Hall's popularity apparently arose from the fact that it stood stoutly for Western interests, and had the foresight to see wherein these lay. This policy led to continual mention of the resources of the Ohio Valley and evidences of its rapid growth. The paper is therefore richer in materials for Western history than were most of its contemporaries or predecessors. On May 26, 1811, for example, it is reported that the barge "Cincinnati" has arrived from New Orleans in sixty-eight days—the first rigged vessel to reach this port from below. It had a hundred-foot keel, and was warped over the Falls at Louisville by eighteen men in half a day. In December, it is noticed that "the steamboat" has arrived from Louisville, having made the hundred and eighty miles in forty-five hours. During the Tippecanoe campaign, and the War of 1812-15, reports from the field are full and sympathetic. Appeals are made for blankets and clothing, to be forwarded to the army from *Liberty Hall* office.

The statement is frequently made that the *Cincinnati Gazette* was begun in 1806 and bought out *Liberty Hall* in 1815.²⁹ It appears, however, that this results from a misunderstanding of the relation of the two papers. The *Gazette*, begun in 1815 by one of the former editors of the *Whig*, secured the good will and circulation of *Liberty Hall*, whose popularity had begun to wane because of the withdrawal of the brothers Brown. Shortly after this consolidation there was taken into the office as apprentice, a young lad who was later to become proprietor and printer, and for many years the power behind the throne of the most influential newspaper of the Ohio Valley. This was Stephen

²⁹S. S. Knabenshue, "Press of Ohio," in Ohio Centennial Anniversary Celebration, 1903, *Complete Proceedings* (Columbus, 1903), pp. 565-581.

l'Hommedieu, who with such editors as Charles Hammond and William D. Gallagher, ably supported the Free Soil cause in a community whose material interests were with the slave states.

By act of Congress approved May 17, 1800, the capital of the Northwest Territory was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe, and in this latter village was begun, either late in April or early in May, by Nathaniel Willis, the third Ohio newspaper, the afterwards famous *Scioto Gazette*. As already stated, Edward Freeman about this time moved thither his *Journal* from Cincinnati; but he appears to have died in October of the following year, and his outfit was purchased by Willis, who merged the two enterprises.

The grandfather of Nathaniel P. Willis, the poet, Editor Willis was Boston born and proud of the fact that he had been a member of the famous Tea-party of Revolutionary days. Learning the printer's trade, he became owner, during the Revolution, of the Boston *Independent Chronicle*. At the close of the war he removed to Martinsburgh, Va., and there for some years published the *Potomac Guardian*. Coming to Chillicothe, his new paper, the *Scioto Gazette*, had much influence in directing the course of Western politics.³⁰ Willis was one of the first to suspect the character of Aaron Burr's projects in the Western country, and his editorial denunciations at Chillicothe aided the cause of the *Western World* at the Kentucky seat of government. The *Scioto Gazette* has appeared regularly under the same name to the present time, and is entitled to the distinction of being the Western newspaper of longest continuous publication.

By 1805, the little capital of Ohio had grown important enough to support more than one journalistically-minded printer. On July 27 of that year, the *Ohio Herald* was founded by Thomas G. Bradford & Co. On February 19, 1807, R. D. Richardson began to issue the *Fredonian*, which next year secured the State printing, and flourished until merged in the *Scioto Gazette* after the War of 1812-15. A similar fortune attended the *Supporter*, begun (September

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 566, 567.

29, 1808) as a Federalist organ by George Nashee and George Denny.³¹ The *Independent Republican* was established at Chillicothe September 8, 1809, by Peter Parcels and was surviving in 1811.

The first settlement in Ohio was Marietta, but it had no newspaper of its own until after several of its neighbors were provided. The earliest public journal in this community was begun in 1801, being Republican in politics and ambitiously styled *The Ohio Gazette and the Territorial and Virginia Herald*. Its founders (Wyllis Silliman and Elijah Backus) explained that the latter portion of the title was due to hope for patronage from across the river.³² It was not long before Silliman was appointed to the lucrative position of register of the federal land-office at Zanesville, and retired from the editorship; while Backus disposed of the concern to Samuel Fairlamb, a Philadelphia printer, and moved to Illinois.

Meanwhile, a Federalist organ called the *Commentator and Marietta Recorder* was launched September 16, 1807, but continued scarcely three years. In October, 1810, a Massachusetts lawyer named Caleb Emerson, later eminent in the Ohio courts, began the *Western Spectator*, which was Federalistic in tone. The *Spectator* was not a little given to humor of the rough-and-ready frontier variety; as witness this marriage notice in an early number:

Married. In Boston, Jonathan Wild to Miss Harriet Joy.

First Courtship, wild with joy extatic,
The brighten'd hours of life beguil'd;
Then marriage snatch'd the joy emphatic,
And left the parties doubly Wild.

Of the interior towns of the State, those on Zane's Trace had the earliest development. In 1810 there were fourteen newspapers in Ohio,³³ four of which were at Chillicothe, three at Cincinnati, two at Marietta, and one each at Zanesville, New Lisbon, Steubenville, St. Clairsville, and Lebanon.

³¹ Venable, p. 41.

³² *History of Washington County, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1881), p. 413.

³³ Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), ii, p. 524.

Of these, the Lebanon *Western Star* was the oldest, and is still published under the same name. The *Star*, in common with several other early Ohio newspapers, was founded by a young and ambitious lawyer, John McLean, who during many subsequent years (1829-61) was a justice of the United States supreme court. McLean began the *Star* on February 13, 1807, and continued it for about three years. Meanwhile his younger brother, Nathaniel, had learned the printer's trade with the Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*. When John sought a broader field, Nathaniel carried on the enterprise for some years, and afterwards inaugurated at St. Paul, Minn., the first newspaper of the then far Northwest.³⁴

The Zanesville *Muskingum Messenger* was founded in 1809 by E. T. Cox, father of the well-known Congressman "Sunset Cox." On December 8, 1810, the words *Ohio Intelligencer* were added to the title.

At Steubenville we find *The Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, which Lowry and Miller established in 1807. Later, James Wilson of the Philadelphia *Aurora* settled in Steubenville, and purchasing the local paper made it the principal Democratic mouthpiece for the region roundabout, a position which it occupied for over thirty years.³⁵ The father of William Dean Howells tells of a visit made by him to Wilson's office when a small lad, during which he asserted his stout belief in Federalism, whereat the veteran editor appeared greatly amused.³⁶

St. Clairsville, neighbor to Zanesville, was the seat of the *Impartial Observer*, established March 25, 1809, by John C. Gilkison & Co. Four years later (1813) appeared the *Ohio Federalist*, long conducted by the brilliant lawyer Charles Hammond, later of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. Hammond won high repute at the bar, as well as in journalism, was warmly admired by Chief Justice Marshall, and declined an offer of a seat on the United States supreme bench.

³⁴ Knabenschue, pp. 546, 549.

³⁵ J. A. Caldwell, *History of Edmund and Jefferson Counties, Ohio* (Wheeling, 1880), p. 482.

³⁶ William Cooper Howells, *Reminiscences of Life in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1885), p. 87.

When, about 1817, he left for the ampler field of Cincinnati, his St. Clairsville paper suspended publication.³⁷

Columbus did not become the state capital until just after the close of our period. Its first paper was removed there about 1813 from Worthington, where it had in 1811 been started by James Kilbourne as the *Western Intelligencer*. Changing hands several times, it was in 1815 styled the *Columbus Gazette*, and for many years was so published as the weekly edition of the daily *Ohio State Journal*.³⁸

The first newspaper in the Western Reserve was the *Warren Trump of Fame*, begun in 1812 by Thomas D. Webb.³⁹ Cleveland had no journal until six years later; but Lancaster, founded chiefly by immigrants from the Pennsylvania town of that name, was supplied with newspapers at an early day. Here were established in 1806 the *Western Oracle and Farmers' Weekly Museum*, "printed by J. Hinkle." In 1810 appeared the *Political Observatory and Fairfield Register*, published by George Sanderson and Peter Parcels & Co.; and in 1811, the *Independent Press*.

The only remaining papers which come within our period are the *Ohio Patriot*, of New Lisbon (1809), the *Fredonian* of Circleville (1811), the *Express and Republican Standard*, of Zanesville (1812), and the *Freeman's Chronicle* of Franklinton (1812). Copies of these are listed in the appendix.

The German press in the West was first developed in the Ohio settlements. In Lancaster, Jacob Dietrich began the publication in 1807 of *Der Ohio Adler*. Later, an English edition, the *Eagle*, was inaugurated, and this has continued to the present.⁴⁰ New Lisbon witnessed another attempt to establish a German weekly, in 1808, when William D. Lepper started *Der Patriot am Ohio*; but after a year's dismal experience in this form, the paper appeared in English as the *Ohio Patriot*. Lepper continued at the head of this publication until 1833, and it is still issued—the third paper

³⁷ Venable, p. 393.

³⁸ Knabenshue, p. 471.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 572, 573.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

in the State to retain both name and place of publication from that time to this.⁴¹

WESTERN VIRGINIA—1803.

In the development of a local press, trans-Alleghany Virginia was less enterprising than the neighboring region of Pennsylvania, or even Kentucky and Ohio. The first paper known to have been published in the district was the *Monongahela Gazette* at Morgantown, dating from 1803;⁴² at Wheeling, the *Repository*, under one Armstrong, appeared in 1807;⁴³ and at Charlestown, in 1810, the *Farmer's Register*. All these were insignificant and ephemeral sheets, with small influence on the destinies of the Western world.

INDIANA—1804.

Indiana boasted of but one newspaper previous to the War of 1812-15; that was begun in 1804 at Vincennes, the capital of the Territory, coincident with the first public journal in New Orleans, four years before a similar beginning at St. Louis, and at a time when there were but five others in the entire Northwest Territory.

Elihu Stout, the energetic promoter of this enterprise, was a Kentuckian, who had been employed as a printer on the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first paper in that State. In 1803 he went to Vincennes to view the prospects for the opening there of a printing and publishing office. His project was warmly encouraged by both citizens and territorial officials, and in high spirits he returned to Frankfort to purchase his outfit. While paper, types, and press were being conveyed to Vincennes by slow-moving river boat, Stout himself travelled thither overland by horseback, and arrived at the seat of his new activities in April, 1804.

It was June, however, before his materials were finally unloaded at the Vincennes levee; and in July the delighted inhabitants welcomed the first appearance of the *Indiana*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 570; *History of Columbiana County, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 114.

⁴² Samuel T. Wiley, *History of Monongalia County, W. Va.* (Kingwood, W. Va., 1883), p. 479.

⁴³ J. H. Newton, *History of Panhandle, West Va.* (Wheeling, 1879), p. 289.

Gazette. Stout had gratefully named the journal in honor of its Lexington progenitor. For eighteen months or more the weekly edition regularly appeared, when a severe calamity overtook the young proprietor—his office building, with all its precious contents of machinery and material, was destroyed by fire.

Nothing daunted, a second outfit was ordered from Kentucky, and the resurrected journal again appeared on the "glorious Fourth" of 1807, and with the smiling title of *Western Sun*. The new dawn was propitious, for ever since that day the *Sun* has continued to illuminate the earth in and around "Old Vincennes."⁴⁴

As circulation increased and improving finances warranted, successive assistants came to aid Editor Stout; most notable of these was Jonathan Jennings, the well-known Free Soil candidate for Territorial delegate. The ruling clique of the new Territory, intrenched at its capital, were of Virginia and Kentucky origin, and eager that slavery should be introduced into the prospective State. This, Jennings stoutly opposed, basing his contention on the non-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787. Seeing, however, that no headway could be made at Vincennes, he abandoned personal agitation in that region for the southeastern portion of the Territory, where the settlers were in favor of free labor, and won his contention.

During the campaign the *Western Sun*, however, preserved a neutral attitude and freely published communications from both sides. The pro-slavery candidate, Thomas Randolph, considered himself personally aggrieved, and applied to Stout for the name of the author of the objectionable Free-Soil communications, thinking that they came from Jennings's own pen. But to his surprise, Stout named as the author a Dr. Elias McNamee, who being a Quaker refused Randolph's challenge to a duel, and instead had his opponent bound over to keep the peace. This course greatly angered Randolph, who regarded it as a particularly

⁴⁴*Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, ii, pp. 107-109; John Law, *Vincennes* (Louisville, 1839), p. 137; Henry S. Cauthorne, *History of the City of Vincennes* (Vincennes, 1901), p. 57. I am indebted to the Hon. Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., of Indianapolis for the foregoing helpful references.

INDIAN GAZETTE

Independence is my happiness, and I relate things as they are, without respect to place or persons. FAYET.

[No. 2.]

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7.

[Vol. 1.]

VINCENNES, (T. T.) PRINTED BY A. STOUT, ON ST. LOUIS STREET.

TO THE PUBLIC.

AT length after great trouble and much expense the Public is presented with the first number of the *Schiana Gazette*. Without deviating from the general rule of News-Paper Editors, in the first number the Editor addresses the Public, and lays down the principles which shall govern the publication. His object shall be to collect and publish such information as will give a correct account of the productions and natural resources of the Territory, to encourage Original Essays, Political, Literary, Agricultural, and on

sent by post, the person subscribing must pay the postage.

Advertisements of no more length than breadth, inserted three times for one dollar and fifty cents, and to pay five cents for each continuance.

By Authority.

EIGHTH CONGRESS

UNITED STATES,

at the first session.

perfect in this act, or until the death of such person, as aforesaid, as the estate may be: which arrestee shall be arrested and certified by the register of the Treasury in the same manner, and under the same restrictions, as are contained in the act passed the eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, intitled "An act for the relief of the persons therein mentioned or described." Provided, That the redemption of such pay which may have been received by any commission-er, shall not be returned by such officer, into the Treasury of the United States, or shall be deducted from the sum of such commission directed to be paid by the said Nathl. Macon.

NATHL. MACON,

at the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

for the wild, some of the officers who had been appointed during good behavior as judges respecting any controversy among the swains though the officers proceeded wrong, and were quite opposed to facts, barbaious themselves; each, Jackson displaced all these, and with them left his cheer—however this was a trifling evil, as he had determined never to come on. The ship has been running now more than three years, it will last longer and generally without a complaint—officers being well paid keep up good spirits: some of the crew are feeble, and the whole wife and prudent among the swains are to sail out of a town, that they are almost ready to abandon the property, I sail year out early, with the whole, as they are from a ship, and then from the ship to the land, and a little boy, he showed out from the ship, that he even the ship into the Milling, pl, up the Millers, and the five truck as



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pernicious form of insult, and he addressed to the *Sun* an article stigmatizing McNamee as "a scoundrel no longer worthy of my notice. I pronounce you a base slanderer, an infamous liar, and a contemptible coward." There has been preserved a letter by Randolph's duello "friend," wherein the second compliments his principal on this announcement, thus "acquitting yourself agreeable to the rules of modern etiquette."⁴⁵

Quite in keeping with the methods of the early press, the *Sun* contains but slight reference to so important an event as the state constitutional convention held at Corydon in 1816, and no notice whatever of the admission of Indiana to the sisterhood of states. These were events obviously familiar to its readers, therefore why mention them at all? In 1845, Stout and his son (who had been taken into partnership) sold their establishment to John Rice Jones.

The second Indiana paper in the order of issue is, so far as now known, the *Madison Western Eagle*, whose first number dates back to 1813. But practically nothing is known of it, save a single reference to its publication.⁴⁶

MISSOURI—1808.

Although not strictly within the Ohio Valley, geographically speaking, Missouri lies at the foot thereof, and its early newspaper history is closely connected with that of the trans-Alleghany region, and should here be included.

In 1796, an ambitious young Irishman, named Joseph Charless, emigrated to Philadelphia and learned the art of printing in the then well-known establishment of Matthew Carey. Along with hundreds of other restless spirits, he moved to Kentucky early in the nineteenth century, but finding that field pre-empted, soon pushed on to St. Louis.⁴⁷ This old-time French village was soon astir with unwonted activity because of the recent introduction of American

⁴⁵ William W. Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1883), pp. 383-387; J. P. Dunn, Jr., *Indiana* (Boston and New York, 1904), pp. 399, 400.

⁴⁶ *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, ii, p. 120.

⁴⁷ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 902-906; F. L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 1804-21, pp. 99-103.

influences, incident to the Louisiana Purchase and the explorations of Lewis and Clark and the horde of frontiersmen who were now beating trails through the trans-Mississippi wilderness.

Here Charless saw his opportunity for a career, and on July 12, 1808, issued the first number of the *Missouri Gazette*,⁴⁸ subscriptions for which were "payable in flour, corn, beef, or pork." Like other early journals in the West, the *Gazette* was a small affair—measuring only 10 x 15 inches, and consisting of four pages of three columns each. The first issue was printed on foolscap writing paper, in the absence of more appropriate stock. As in its prototypes, local news is meagre. In the third number (July 26), the earliest now available, the first and last pages are occupied with a London letter of April 22; the second contains news from Paris and our Eastern states; the third, an account of a Fourth of July dinner at the village of Harrison, in Indiana Territory—the toasts proposed, and the orations and ode delivered. The trial of some Indians for the murder of a white man is casually cited, with the statement that "sentence of death will be pronounced on them to-day." This announcement is also made:

It is with heartfelt pleasure we announce the patriotism displayed by the St. Charles troop of horse, a few days ago; they offered their services to accompany Gen. Clark up the Missouri, in order to protect and assist in the building of the intended Fort, at or near the Osage River.⁴⁹

On November 30, 1809, the name of the publication was changed to *Louisiana Gazette*, in recognition of the name of the Territory as a whole; but when, three years later the State of Louisiana was erected and the remainder of the Territory organized as Missouri, the journal reverted to its original title.

John Bradbury, the famous English naturalist, who visited St. Louis and ascended the Missouri River in 1810,

⁴⁸ No example of this number is known to exist. The *St. Louis Republic*, which claims lineal descent from the *Gazette*, has a copy of the third issue (July 26, 1808) and an almost complete file from that date.

⁴⁹ Having reference to Fort Osage, in what is now Jackson County, Mo.



tells us that Indian chiefs would stalk into the office of the *Gazette* and gravely seat themselves there, holding a newspaper before their faces for hours at a time, in imitation of the actions of white men. When Bradbury was upon the upper river, somewhere near the present Bismarck, N. Dakota, he met a chieftain who at once lifted his buffalo robe before his face, and pretended to scan it, as though it were a newspaper. He recognized in Bradbury one of the white men whom he had seen peruse newspapers in the office of the *St. Louis Gazette*, and took this means of indicating his recognition.⁵⁰

ILLINOIS—1814.

When, in 1809, Illinois was detached from Indiana and erected into a separate Territory, Ninian Edwards, a young Kentucky lawyer, became its governor. The Territorial capital was the old French town of Kaskaskia, as yet without a printing office. The first edition of the Illinois Territorial Laws was printed in 1813 at the governor's old home, Russellville, Ky., by Matthew Duncan, the owner of a small journal entitled *Farmer's Friend*. The following year, Duncan, who in time came to be a prominent figure in Illinois politics, began the publication at Kaskaskia of the *Illinois Herald*, the first journal in the new Territory, which probably had not until this time an English-speaking population sufficient to support a newspaper in our language.⁵¹

In 1815, Duncan disposed of his newspaper interests to Robert Blackwell and Daniel P. Cook, who the following year changed the name of the *Herald* to *Western Intelligencer*. Two years later, it assumed the title of *Illinois Intelligencer*,

⁵⁰ John Bradbury, "Travels," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1903), v, p. 89.

⁵¹ It has been asserted that Duncan began a paper at Kaskaskia in 1809—see John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, Ill., 1852), p. 310; Venable, p. 42. But the Russellville imprint of the Laws of 1813 has since been discovered—see Edmund J. James, "Territorial Laws of Illinois," in *Illinois Historical Library Publications*, ii, p. 8. There has also recently come to light a file of the *Illinois Herald* itself—see J. H. Burnham, "An Early Illinois Newspaper," in *Id.*, No. 8, pp. 179-189.

In 1830, Duncan electioneered for his brother Joseph, who was elected governor, and two years later participated in the Black Hawk War.

and in 1820 was removed to Vandalia, which had now become the capital of the State.

The second Illinois paper does not fall within our period; but it may be mentioned as a matter of interest that this did not appear until 1813, when Henry Eddy, a well-known lawyer and literary man of his day, established the *Shawnee Chief* at Shawneetown.⁵²

CONCLUSIONS.

We have seen that the early journalists of the Ohio Valley were often in sad straits because so far removed from their sources of supply. Press, types, paper, and ink are heavy, bulky articles, ill adapted to the rough methods of pioneer transportation by Conestoga wagons, pack horses, and flatboats.

The belated arrival of paper from the East often necessitated borrowing from more fortunate contemporaries; even stocks of government cartridge paper were occasionally loaned from the forts, to tide over the difficulty; and now and then the famine was so complete that publication must needs be suspended for weeks at a time. So pressing was the necessity for a trans-Alleghany paper-mill that one was established at the Kentucky hamlet of Royal Spring (now Georgetown) in 1793.⁵³

The proprietors were the Rev. Elijah Craig and two partners named Parker. Craig had achieved prominence as a Baptist preacher, first in Virginia, later in Kentucky; but in the latter State his ministerial reputation becoming somewhat clouded, he turned to secular enterprises, first beginning in 1787 a rope-walk at Frankfort. Believing that a paper-mill would be useful to the community, he determined to utilize therefor the power of a stream gushing from a great spring, which had been dubbed "Royal" because of its size. Experiments began in 1791, but it was not until March of 1793 that there were produced the first sheets of white paper, which were drawn out and finished by hand. Craig's advertisement for clean white rags

⁵²James and Loveless, "Newspapers in Illinois prior to 1860," *Id.* No. 1, p. 64.

⁵³Venable p. 48.

appears in the Frankfort newspapers of that time. The product was of fair quality and supplied the Western market for many years. This first mill was burned about 1837. The second paper-mill west of the Alleghanies was established at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville, Pa.), in 1796, by Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless, who had received their training in Eastern Pennsylvania.⁶⁴ The earliest paper-mill north of the Ohio was opened in the Miami Valley in 1814.

It was 1820 before a type foundry was established in the trans-Alleghany. The newspaper publishers of the period now under consideration used their body fonts, which had been obtained at such great cost and toil from the Atlantic Coast, until they literally were worn out in the service. Many of the newspaper issues that have come down to us are scarcely legible, especially if the editor had been several years in business, or had secured his stock from some other Western printing office. Display type and cuts not infrequently were made by hand from basswood blocks, for the frontier publisher (usually his own compositor and printer) was of necessity a jack of many trades.

The pioneer printers had many ink-making recipes. Usually, imported powders were mixed with decoctions made from oak-galls and the bark of trees. The product, often indifferent in character, was daubed by hand on the type by means of inking-balls, cushioned with dog- or buck-skin.

The hand-presses in use by these printers were heavy and clumsy, and much fatiguing manual labor was required in pulling the paper through; seldom more than fifty to seventy-five sheets could in this manner be worked off in an hour.

Despite the varying origins and fortunes of the pioneer journals of the Ohio Valley, they possessed certain general characteristics. These were in part the outgrowth of local conditions in communities far removed from the tidewater centres of population, but in the main were such as are common to most American newspapers of the period, especially in the smaller towns.

⁶⁴Craig, *History of Pittsburgh*, p. 278.

Far less than the journals of to-day did they reflect the local point of view, for there is an almost complete dearth of home news: the columns being chiefly devoted to foreign and Eastern "intelligence," political correspondence and occasional discussion, selected or contributed essays and poetry, and the ever-valuable and suggestive advertisements.

At first, almost all of these early papers were hospitable to contributors expressing all shades of opinion on public affairs; but after a time, we find them usually becoming bitterly partisan, and offering little if any opportunity for the expression of opinions differing from those of the editor.

While there were few editorials, as we know them, the early publisher contrived to give to his journal an unmistakable mark of individuality; contributions, news-notes, clippings, head-lines, and even advertisements, were popularly supposed to reflect the taste and bias of the editor. His arrangement of matter was orderly and consistent, making it easy for the scholar of to-day to consult his files; while as to literary form, he was apt to display more dignity than the editors of similar papers in our own time. Save in the course of personal vituperation, we find his words well chosen; and while his style and that of his correspondents seems to us prolix and turgid, it was quite in line with prevailing taste. While they often amuse us, they quite as often instruct.

Considering the time and the place, the early papers of the Ohio Valley were not lacking in enterprise. The very fact of their inauguration under the difficulties confronting their projectors, was in itself a display of masterly energy born of optimism.

Despite the fact that the pioneer journalist in the trans-Alleghany was apt to be somewhat of an itinerant, occasionally an adventurer, and frequently unsuccessful as a business manager, almost always was he a man to be reckoned with, and usually won prominence in at least the political affairs of his community. Especially in Ohio, we find in this fraternity not a few brilliant lawyers, who in the editorial

office began honorable public careers. Taken as a class, these path-breakers for the Ohio Valley press reflected credit on the profession of journalism, and did admirable service in the early development of the Middle West. Until we come to know them and their work, we fail to appreciate some of the underlying forces of our history.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ In collecting data for this sketch, I have been greatly aided by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, my research assistant on the staff of the Wisconsin Historical Library.

I have also had valuable suggestions from Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Hon. E. O. Randall and Hon. Charles B. Galbreath of Columbus, Ohio, Hon. Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., and Hon. Demarchus C. Brown of Indianapolis, Prof. James A. James of Evanston, Ill., and Hon. Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis. The librarians of the several libraries mentioned in the Appendix, have also rendered me their debtor through prompt and generous responses to inquiries concerning their files. I have been particularly favored, in this regard, with the assistance of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, and Mr. William C. Lane, librarian of Harvard University.

APPENDIX.

On the following pages are listed in detail files of the newspapers of the Ohio River Valley—Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri—from the beginnings of the press in each state through the year 1812, as reported by the various libraries cited. No attempt has been made to cover the field exhaustively, but many local libraries, as well as the great national collections, have been examined.

The best files of these early Western newspapers are to be found in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society and of Harvard University. Isaiah Thomas, in the preparation of his *History of Printing in America*, published in 1810, undertook to gather files of all American newspapers. By dint of much correspondence he amassed a collection which comprehensively represented the entire country and was especially rich in initial issues. In 1813 he presented this collection to the American Antiquarian Society, which he had founded in the previous year. Working in a similar direction at the same time was another scholar, who though placed at great disadvantage because of distance seems to have been peculiarly successful in his undertaking. This was Christoph Daniel Ebeling, professor of history in Hamburg, Germany. One of the most important sources which he used in his great work on the *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika*, published at Hamburg from 1793 to 1816, were the newspapers of the various states. His collection, numbering some 300 volumes and especially strong in the last decade of the 18th century, was, after his death in 1817, purchased with the rest of his library and presented to Harvard University.

Of the newspapers treated in our list, the collection of the American Antiquarian Society is represented by 60 different journals with 1,118 issues, that of Harvard University by 39 papers with 1,454 issues, that of the Library of Congress by 25 papers with 285 issues, and that of the Wisconsin Historical Society by 12 papers with 463 issues.

In the following list the arrangement is by states and the order of presentation chronological.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pittsburgh *Gazette* (begun July 29, 1786).

American Antiquarian Society: 1789, Nov. 28; 1790, Jan. 9; 1793, Feb. 23, Mch. 2, 23, July 27, Aug. 24; 1795, Dec. 12; 1797, Apr. 8; 1799, Dec. 7; 1804, June 8; 1807, Mch. 10; 1809, May 17; 1810, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 2, Apr. 6, July 20, 27, Aug. 7, Sept. 28, Nov. 2; 1811, Feb. 15, 22, Mch. 22, Apr. 5, 26—May 10.

Library of Congress: June 30, 1807—July 2, 1813, 2 vols.

Harvard University: 1795, Feb. 21, Mch. 14, May 23, June 13, July 18, Aug. 1, Nov. 14, Dec. 26; 1796, Apr. 15, May 14, 21, 28, June 18-July 16, 30, Aug. 13-Oct. 8, 22, 29, Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 10-31; 1797, Jan. 14-Apr. 8, 22, 29.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: Aug. 26, 1786-May 8, 1790; Nov. 2, 1793-Nov. 14, 1795; June, 23, 1798-Dec. 21, 1804; Aug. 9, 1811-Dec. 25, 1812. Some numbers missing.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1786-87), nos. 6 (imperfect), 8 (facsimile), 16-18, 27-31, 33-36 (34 imp.), 38-46 (42 and 43 imp.); vol. 2 (1787-88), nos. 54-59, 62, 64, 65, 67-69, 72, 84, 92, 104; vol. 3 (1788), nos. 107, 109; vol. 9 (1796), no. 507 (May 21); vol. 26 (1811), no. 1303 (Nov. 22 imp.).

Washington, *Western Telegraphe* (begun Aug. 17, 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, Sept. 18 (vol. 4, no. 162), Oct. 16 (vol. 4, no. 166); 1802, Mch. 22 (vol. 7, no. 345); 1807, July 4 (vol. 12, no. 618); new series 1810, Aug. 9 (vol. 1, no. 44).

Harvard University: 1795, Aug. 24 (vol. 1, no. 2), Sept. 1, 8, Nov. 10, Dec. 29; 1796, Mch. 1, 15-29, Apr. 19, May 10-31, June 21-Aug. 30, Sept. 13-Oct. 25, Nov. 15, 29, Dec. 13; 1797, Feb. 7, 14, Mch. 21, 28, Apr. 4-25.

Greensburg, *Farmer's Register* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Aug. 13 (vol. 3, no. 12), Sept. 10 (vol. 3, no. 16).

Harvard University: 1803, May 28 (vol. 3, no. 1), June 11, July 2-Aug. 27, Sept. 10-Oct. 29, Nov. 19, Dec. 10-31; 1804, Jan. 7, 14, 28, Feb. 11-25, Mch. 10, 31, Apr. 7, 21-May 5, 12, 26, June 16, 30, July 14, 28, Aug. 4, 18-Sept. 22, Oct. 6, Nov. 3, 16, 30, Dec. 14, 21; 1805, Jan. 4-Feb. 1, 22-Mch. 8, 22, Apr. 5-May 3.

Pennsylvania Historical Society: 1799-1803.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: June 21, 1799-April 24, 1802 (20 numbers missing).

Washington, *Herald of Liberty* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, Mch. 23 (vol. 4, no. 163).

Pittsburgh, *Tree of Liberty* (begun 1800).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, June 13 (vol. 1, no. 44), Sept. 12 (vol. 2, no. 57); 1803, May 7 extra (vol. 3, no. 143), 14 extra (vol. 3, no. 144); 1805, Aug. 10-24 (vol. 6, nos. 261-263), Dec. 24 (vol. 6, no. 281).

Library of Congress: Nov. 22, 1800.

Harvard University: 1802, Dec. 4, 25; 1803, Jan. 1-Feb. 5, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 9, 23-May 7 (+ extra), 14 (+ extra), 21, June 4 (+ extra), 11 (+ extra), July 2, 9 (+ suppl.)-Aug. 13, 27, Sept. 10-Oct. 15 (+ suppl.), 22 (+ suppl.), Nov. 19 (+ extra), 26, Dec. 10, 24; 1804, Jan. 7, Feb. 18, Mch. 3, 24, Apr. 2 (extra), 7, 28, May 5, 19, 26, June 16-Aug. 4, 18, 25, Sept. 8, Nov. 10, 17, Dec. 8; 1805, Jan. 5-19, Feb. 2, 23, Mch. 2, 23-Apr. 6, 20, 27 (+ extra), May 4-June 22, July 6 (+ extra), 20-Aug. 24, Sept. 7-Oct. 3, 15-Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 10, 13, 17, 31; 1806, Jan. 14-Feb. 11, Mch. 4, 28, May 6.

Washington, *Western Missionary Magazine* (begun 1802).

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: 1803-04.

Union, *Genius of Liberty and Fayette Advertiser*.

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, July 14 (vol. 6, no. 14), 21 (vol. 6, no. 15).

Pittsburgh, *The Commonwealth* (begun July 24, 1805).

American Antiquarian Society: 1805, July 24-Aug. 21 (vol. 1, nos. 1-5), Sept. 7 (vol. 1, no. 9), 21 (vol. 1, no. 14), Oct. 2 (vol. 1, no. 16), 23 (vol. 1, no. 22), Nov. 20-Dec. 4 (vol. 1, nos. 26-28); 1806, Feb. 5, 12 (vol. 1, nos. 37, 38), Mch. 5 (vol. 1, no. 41), Apr. 16 (vol. 1, no. 47), 23-May 28 (vol. 1, nos. 48-53), June 11 (vol. 1, no. 55), July 2 (vol. 1, no. 58), 9 (vol. 1, no. 59), 23 (vol. 1, no. 61), Aug. 20, 27 (vol. 2, nos. 65, 5), Sept. 17 (vol. 2, no. 8), 24 (vol. 2, no. 9); 1807, Feb. 18 (vol. 2, no. 31), Apr. 15 (vol. 2, no. 38), June 10 (vol. 2, no. 46); 1810, Aug. 20 (vol. 6, no. 33).

Harvard University: 1805, Nov. 6, 13; 1806, Jan. 1, 8, 20-Feb. 12, Mch. 12-Apr. 2, 30-May 21, June 4, 11, 25, July 9-23, Aug. 13, Sept. 24, Oct. 22, Nov. 19, Dec. 24; 1807, Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 7-Mch. 11, Apr. 22-May 6, June 24, July 15, Aug. 12, 19, Sept. 16, Oct. 21-Nov. 7, 18, Dec. 23, 30; 1808, Jan. 18, 27-Feb. 17, Mch. 2-16, 30, Apr. 6, 20-May 4, 18, June 15-July 6 (+ extra), 13-27, Aug. 17, 24, Sept. 7-21, Oct. 19, Nov. 2-16.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: July 15, 1811-Dec. 30, 1812.

Washington, *The Reporter* (begun Aug. 15, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Aug. 22-Sept. 19 (vol. 1, nos. 2-6), Oct. 10 (vol. 1, no. 9), 24 (vol. 1, no. 11).

Washington, *Western Corrector* (begun 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Nov. 6 (vol. 1, no. 42); 1811, Jan. 8 (vol. 1, no. 51), Feb. 12, 19 (vol. 2, nos. 55, 56).

Pittsburgh, *The Mercury* (begun Sept. 26, 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 26-Nov. 23 (vol. 1, nos. 1-7); 1812, Feb. 15 (vol. 1, no. 19), 29-Apr. 4 (vol. 1, nos. 21-26), Aug. 6 (vol. 1, no. 5), 27-Sept. 10 (vol. 1, nos. 8-10), Oct. 8 (vol. 1, no. 14), 22 (vol. 1, no. 16), Nov. 5 (vol. 1, no. 18), 19 (vol. 1, no. 20), 26-Dec. 10 (vol. 1, nos. 21-23).

Harvard University: 1811, Dec. 7; 1812, Jan. 25, Feb. 8, 15, Mch. 21, 28.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: July 9-Dec. 31, 1812.

Beavertown, *Western Cabinet* (begun Sept. 28, 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 28 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 7 (vol. 1, no. 2), 21 (vol. 1, no. 4); 1812, Feb. 24 (vol. 1, no. 21).

KENTUCKY.¹

Lexington, *Kentucke Gazette* (begun Aug. 11, 1787).

American Antiquarian Society: 1794, Mch. 15, July 12; 1799, Nov. 7, 14; 1800, Jan. 23, 30, Oct. 27, Nov. 10, Dec. 22; 1801, Dec. 5, 25; 1802, July 23, Sept. 10, 17, 24; 1803, June 21, Aug. 9, 16, Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 11, Dec. 27; 1804, Jan. 3, 10, Feb. 21, Mch. 6, Apr. 3, 10, June 19, July 10, 17 (supplement only), Aug. 7 (with supplement), 14, Oct. 16, Nov. 13, 27, Dec. 25; 1805, Feb. 12, May 7, June 25, Aug. 27, Sept. 17, Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 14; 1806, Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 (with supplement), Feb. 6 (with supplement), 13, 19, 22, 26, Mch. 1, 5, 8, 12, 26, Apr. 2, 5 (with supplement), 9, 16, 19, 30, May 3 (with supplement), 6, 13, 17, 20, 31, June 3, 7, 10, 14, 21, 28, July 5, 26, 29, Aug. 2, 7, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, Sept. 25, 29, Oct. 6, 9, 13, 27, Nov. 3, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, Dec. 1, 15, 18, 22, 25; 1807, Feb. 14, 28, Mch. 31 (supplement only), Apr. 4, 28, May 2 (supplement only), 5, 19, 26, July 21, Aug. 18, 25, Dec. 29; 1808, Jan. 26, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 1, 15, Apr. 5-May 10, 24-June 14, 28-July 26, Aug. 23, 30, Sept. 13, Oct. 4-18, Nov. 1-15, Dec. 5, 20; 1809, Jan. 10, Feb. 7, 20, 27, Mch. 13, 21-Apr. 11, 25, May 9-30, June 13, 20, July 11, 25, Aug. 1, 15, Sept. 12, 19, Oct. 17, Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 19, 26; 1810, Jan. 16-Feb. 13, 27, Mch. 6-20, Apr. 24, May 8, June 5, Sept. 18.

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 24, no. 1279 (May 8, 1810).

Harvard University: 1796, May 28, June 4, 18, 25, July 2-30, Aug. 13-27, Sept. 10, 17 (+ extra), 24, Oct. 22 (+ extra), 29 (+ extra), Nov. 5, 12 (+ extra), 19-Dec. 3 (+ extra)-31; 1797, Jan. 4-11, 28, Feb. 1-25, Mch. 4-29, June 3, 7, 14, July 8, 12, 29, Aug. 2, Sept. 2, 6, 16, 27, 30, Oct. 4, 21, 28, Nov. 1, 4, 11-25, Dec. 2, 6; 1798, Jan. 10, 24, Feb. 7, 14, Apr. 11, 25, June 20, 27, July 4, 18, Aug. 1 (+ extra); 1799, May 23, June 20, July 4, 18, 25, Aug. 1, 8, 22-Oct. 24, Nov. 7; 1801, Dec. 5-25; 1802, Jan. 1-Mch. 5, 19, 26, Apr. 9, 16, May 14, 28, June 4-July 2, 16-Sept. 24, Oct. 5-Dec. 7, 21, 28; 1803, Jan. 4-Apr. 19, May 10-July 19, Aug. 2, 9, 23, 30, Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 4, 18-Nov. 15, 29-Dec. 27; 1804, Jan. 10, 17, Feb. 7-28, Mch. 13, 27, Apr. 10 (+ extra), 17, 24, May 8, 15, June 25, July 3 (+ extra), 10 (+ extra)-31, Aug. 28, Sept. 4-Oct. 9, 23-Nov. 27; 1805, Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 12, 26, Mch. 12, 19, Apr. 2, 16, 30, May 7, 28, June 4, 28, July 2-23, Aug. 13-Sept. 17, Oct. 21, Nov. 7, 14, 28; 1806, Jan. 2-23, Feb. 22, 26, Mch. 1, 5, Apr. 2, 5, 12, 16, 19, May 6, 13, 27, Aug. 2, 7, 11, 14, 22, Oct. 6, 9, Nov. 3, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 18; 1807, Feb. 28, Apr. 5, 12, May 9, 16, July 21, Aug. 18, 25, Oct. 13, Dec. 8, 29; 1808, Jan. 5, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 15, Apr. 12, 19, May. 10, 24, 31, June 7-28, July 12-Aug. 9, 23-Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15, 29, Dec. 5; 1811, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 3-31; 1812, Jan. 5, 14, Feb. 18, Mch. 24, 31, Apr. 7, 14, 21, June 23, Aug. 18, 25, Sept. 15, 22, 29, Oct. 27.

¹It is a matter for regret that the writer finds himself unable to obtain a report on the condition and extent of the Kentucky newspaper files in the large private library of his friend, Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville; but Colonel Durrett's recent illness has left him unable to undertake, at the present time, the considerable task of examining them for this publication. The Colonel, however, who is doubtless the best living authority on Kentucky history, kindly examined the manuscript of the section of the paper devoted to the press of his State and made several helpful suggestions. Assistance has been derived from Perrin's *Pioneer Press of Kentucky* as well as William Nelson's list of early Kentucky papers printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, ser. 1, vol. ii, p. lxxviii.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Lexington Public Library: Almost complete set.

Library of Congress: Mch. 1, 1788; April 18-June 20, July 4-Dec. 26, 1798; Jan. 2-April 11 (Jan. 18, extra), 25, May 2, 9, 1799; Feb. 16, 1801; April 11 (supplement), 1807; June 20, 1809; Jan. 30, 1810; Mch. 17, 1812.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1787-88), nos. 16, 26, 27, 29 (imp.)-32, 35, 40-52; vol. 2 (1788), nos. 1-3, 6-14; vol. 4 (1791), no. 26 (Feb. 26); vol. 26 (1812, new series vol. 3), nos. 16, 18, 24, 36, 39, 42, 47.

Frankfort, *Kentucky Journal* (begun 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1795, Dec. 5 (vol. 1, no. 5).

Lexington, *Stewart's Kentucky Herald* (begun 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, Aug. 18 (vol. 7, no. 341), Sept. 15 (vol. 7, no. 345), Oct. 27 (vol. 7, no. 351), Nov. 3 (vol. 7, no. 352).

Harvard University: 1797, Feb. 14 (vol. 3, no. 105); 1803, Apr. 26, May 17, Aug. 2 [nos. following published at Paris]; 1806, Nov. 25, Dec. 2, 16, 30; 1806, Jan. 13, 20, Mch. 6, 27.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Sept. 25, 1798; April 21, 1801.

Paris, *Rights of Man, or the Kentucky Mercury* (begun 1797).

Harvard University: 1797, Aug. 30 (vol. 1, no. 14), Sept. 6, 27, Oct. 11, 25, Nov. 8, 15; 1798, Jan. 10.

Washington, *The Mirror* (begun 1797).

Library Company of Philadelphia: 1798, July 21 (vol. 1, no. 45), Aug. 25, Sept. 8, Dec. 14.

Frankfort, *Guardian of Freedom* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, June 19 (vol. 1, no. 7), Oct. 30 (vol. 1, no. 26); 1802, July 7 (vol. 3, no. 42); 1803, June 15 (vol. 4, no. 37), Aug. 3, 17, 24 (vol. 4, nos. 44, 46, 47), Dec. 28 (vol. 5, no. 13); 1804, May 26 (vol. 5, no. 242).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 4 (1803), nos. 37 (June 15), 48 (Aug. 31), 49 (Sept. 7).

Harvard University: 1801, Oct. 2, Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 11, 25; 1802, Jan. 1, 5, 22, 29, Feb. 6, 12, 26, Mch. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 9, May 13, 19, 26, June 9-July 7, 21, 28, Aug. 4, 18, 25, Sept. 8-Oct. 13, 27-Nov. 10, Dec. 22; 1803, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, Mch. 2, 16, 30, May 11, June 8, 22, July 13, 27, Aug. 17-31, Sept. 7, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 23, 30, Dec. 14, 21; 1804, Jan. 18, Feb. 15, 29, Mch. 17, 24, Apr. 14-28, May 5, 12, June 9-30, July 21, Aug. 4, Sept. 3, Oct. 13-27, Nov. 28; 1805, Jan. 4, 21, Feb. 4, 11.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: May 8-Dec. 27, 1798; Jan. 3-Feb. 28, 1799.

Frankfort, *The Palladium* (begun Aug. 8, 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, Dec. 25 (vol. 1, no. 21); 1803, Feb. 24 (vol. 5, no. 30), July 21 (vol. 5, no. 51), 28 (vol.

5, no. 52); 1804, May 26 (vol. 6, no. 43), June 30 (vol. 6, no. 48); 1805, Feb. 9, 16 (vol. 7, nos. 27, 28), Mch. 2, 9, (vol. 7, nos. 30, 31), Apr. 20 (vol. 7, no. 37), May 11, 18 (vol. 7, nos. 40, 41), June 1 (vol. 7, no. 43); 1807, Nov. 5 (vol. 10, no. 17); 1810, July 14 (vol. 12, no. 51), Sept. 29 (vol. 13, no. 10), Oct. 20 (vol. 13, no. 13); 1811, Mch. 2 (vol. 13, no. 32), May 4 (vol. 13, no. 41), Aug. 17, 24 (vol. 14, nos. 4, 5), Sept. 21, 28 (vol. 14, nos. 9, 10), Oct. 5, 18, 25 (vol. 14, nos. 11, 13, 14), Nov. 1-22 (vol. 14, nos. 15-18), Dec. 18 (vol. 14, no. 22); 1812, Jan. 15 (vol. 14, no. 26), July 29 (vol. 15, no. 2).

Harvard University: 1801, Dec. 4-25; 1802, Jan. 1, 22-Feb. 5, 25, Mch. 4-Aug. 26, Sept. 9-Oct. 7, 21-Dec. 30; 1803, Jan. 13-Feb. 10, 12 (extra), 17-Mch. 17, 31, Apr. 7, 14, May 5, 12, 26-June 9, 23, 30, July 14, 28-Aug. 11, Sept. 8-29, Oct. 8, 15, 29-Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 3, 17-31; 1804, Jan. 7-Mch. 3, 17, 31, Apr. 14, 21, May 5-19, June 9, 23-July 21 (+ extra)-Sept. 1, 22-Oct. 13, Nov. 3-24, Dec. 8, 15; 1805, Jan. 5, 12, Feb. 2, 23, Mch. 9, Apr. 13, 16, 20, 27, May 4, 18, 25, June 8, 22, 29, July 6, 20, 27, Aug. 10-Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 11-Dec. 1, 16, 23; 1806, Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30, Feb. 20, 27, Mch. 6, 13, 27, Apr. 3 (+ extra)-24, May 22, 29, Aug. 7-28, Sept. 18, Oct. 2, Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 8 (extra), 11, 18, 25; 1807, Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 5; 1811, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, Mch. 2, 16, 30, Apr. 6-20, May 4, 18, 25, June 1, 15, 29, July 6, 20, 27, Aug. 3-17, 31, Sept. 21, 28, Oct. 5-Nov. 8, 27; 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 22, 29, Feb. 19, Mch. 11, Apr. 1-22, May 20, 27, June 24, July 1, 5, 19, 26, Aug. 5, 19, 26, Sept. 16, 30, Nov. 4, 11, 18, Dec. 2, 9, 16.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: April 21, 1801; Feb. 19, Mch. 5, Apr. 16, June 4 (half sheet), Aug. 27, Sept. 7, Dec. 10, 1807.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1798-99), nos. 1-27, 31-35, 41-52 (nos. 1, 25-27 are imperfect; set includes extra of Jan. 17, 1799); vol. 2 (1799-1800), nos. 1-52 (includes extra of Aug. 8, 1799); vol. 3 (1800-01), nos. 1-52 (includes extras of Sept. 11, 1800 and April 21, 1801); vol. 4 (1801-02), nos. 1-25, 27-52 (no. 36, Apr. 8, 1802, imp.); vol. 5 (1802-03), nos. 1-52 (nos. 38 for Apr. 21, 1803, and 39 for Apr. 28, imp.); vol. 6 (1803), nos. 1-11.

Louisville, *Farmer's Library, or Ohio Intelligencer* (begun Jan. 7, 1801).

Harvard University: 1801, Dec. 7 (vol. 1, no. 47).

Lexington, *Independent Gazetteer* (begun March 29, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Apr. 19, 26 (vol. 1, nos. 4, 5), May 31 (vol. 1, no. 10), July 26 (vol. 1, no. 18), Sept. 6, 27 (vol. 1, nos. 24, 27), Dec. 20 (vol. 1, no. 39); 1804, Jan. 9, 17 [*sic*], 24 (vol. 1, nos. 42, 43, 44), Feb. 21 (vol. 1, no. 48), Mch. 16 (vol. 1, no. 51), Apr. 6 (vol. 2, no. 54), 13 (vol. 2, no. 55), Oct. 26 (vol. 2, no. 83).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1 (1803), no. 18 (July 26).

Library of Congress: June 14, 1803.

Harvard University: 1804, Oct. 19, Nov. 2-23, Dec. 7, 14, 21; 1805, Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1-15, Mch. 8, 15, 20, Apr. 12, May 10, 17, June 14, 21, July 12, Nov. 16..

Washington, *Weekly Messenger* (begun June 2, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, June 16, 23 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 4), Sept. 15 (vol. 1, no. 16), Oct. 6 (vol. 1, no. 19).

Bardstown, *Western American* (begun Sept. 6, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Sept. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 1, 2), Oct. 13 (vol. 1, no. 6), Nov. 3-18 (vol. 1, nos. 9-11), Dec. 16-30 (vol. 1, nos. 16-17); 1804, Feb. 17 (vol. 1, no. 24), Mch. 2 (vol. 1, no. 26), June 1, 22, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 39, 42, 43), Oct. 19, 26 (vol. 2, nos. 59, 60), Nov. 2, 16 (vol. 2, nos. 61, 63), Dec. 7, 28 (vol. 2, nos. 66, 69); [1805-06 published at Louisville]; 1806, Feb. 6, 13, 27 (vol. 3, nos. 2, 3, 5), Apr. 9 (vol. 3, no. 11), 16 (vol. 3, no. 12), May 7-21 (vol. 3, nos. 15-17), June 4, 25 (vol. 3, nos. 19, 22), July 16, 23 (vol. 3, nos. 25, 26), Sept. 11 (vol. 3, no. 32).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 2 (1804-05), nos. 64 (imp.), 65 (imp.), 79, 81, 87-89.

Library of Congress: Apr. 23, 1805.

Danville, *The Mirror* (begun Sept. 3, 1804).

Harvard University: 1804, Sept. 3 (vol. 1, no. 1).

Danville, *The Informant* (begun 1805).

36, 47, 48; vol. 2 (1806), nos. 1, 12, 13.

Harvard University: 1805, Dec. 10 (vol. 1, no. 14); 1806, Jan. 21, Sept. 16, 23, 30, Oct. 14, 21.

Paris, *Kentucky Herald* (begun Apr. 17, 1806).

Harvard University: 1806, Apr. 17 (vol. 1, no. 1), May 8 (also vol. 1, no. 1).

Frankfort, *Western World* (begun July 5, 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Sept. 6-20 (vol. 1, nos. 10-12), Oct. 4-Nov. 27 (vol. 1, nos. 14-22), Dec. 18 (vol. 1, no. 25); 1807, Jan. 8 with supplement (vol. 1, no. 28), Feb. 5, 12 (vol. 1, nos. 32, 33); 1810, Apr. 27 (vol. 4, no. 200), June 8 (vol. 4, no. 206).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 2, no. 80 (Jan. 7, 1808).

Harvard University: 1806, Sept. 13, Oct. 18, Nov. 2, 15, 27, Dec. 11-25; 1807, Jan. 8, 22, Feb. 12.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Feb. 19, 26, Mch. 5, May 14, Sept. 17, 1807; Jan. 26, 1810.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1806-07), nos. 17-23, 25-27, 29-40; vol. 2 (1807-08), nos. 77, 79-81; vol. 3 (1808), nos. 119 (imp.)-124.

Russellville, *The Mirror* (begun Nov. 1, 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Nov. 7, 14 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3); 1807, Feb. 27 (vol. 1, no. 8), Mch. 13, 27 (vol. 1, nos. 20, 22), Apr. 3-17 (vol. 1, nos. 23-25), May 1, 8 (vol. 1, nos. 27, 28), July 18 (vol. 1, no. 36), Aug. 8, 22-Sept. 12 (vol. 1, nos. 39, 41-44), Oct. 20 (vol. 1, no. 49), Dec. 1 (vol. 2, no. 54); 1808, Mch. 24 (vol. 2, no. 67); 1809, Jan. 5, (vol. 2, no. 103).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 23 (May 8, 1807); vol. 2, nos. 80 (June 30, 1808), 81 (July 7).

Harvard University: 1806, Nov. 1 (vol. 1, no. 1), 7, 21, Dec. 12, 19; 1807, Jan. 9, 30, Mch. 13, Apr. 3, June 27, July 4, 18, 25, Aug. 8, 15, 22, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 20; 1808, Mch. 24, June 2, 16, 23, July 14, 21, Oct. 10, 27, Nov. 10, Dec. 8, 15.

Bairdstown, *Candid Review* (begun 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Sept. 1, 8 (vol. 1, nos. 30, 31), Oct. 7 (vol. 1, no. 35); 1809, June 20 (vol. 3, no. 119), Dec. 12 (vol. 3, no. 144); 1810, July 9 (vol. 4, no. 171), Aug. 27 (vol. 4, no. 178).

Harvard University: 1807, July 14 (vol. 1, no. 23).

Washington, *Republican Auxiliary*.

Library of Congress: Aug. 15, 1807.

Louisville *Gazette and Western Advertiser* (begun Nov. 24, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Dec. 1, 8, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3, 4); 1808, Jan. 12, 19, 26 (vol. 1, nos. 8, 9, 10), Feb. 2 (vol. 1, no. 11), Mch. 1 (vol. 1, no. 15); 1809, Apr. 5 (vol. 2, no. 72).

Library of Congress: Jan. 4, 1809.

Wisconsin Historical Society: Mch. 15, 1811.

Frankfort, *Argus of Western America* (begun 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Nov. 16 (vol. 1, no. 42) 1809, Feb. 6, 18, 25 (vol. 2, nos. 53, 54, 55), Mch. 11, 18 (vol. 2, nos. 57, 58), Apr. 8-22 (vol. 2, nos. 60-62), May 16, 30 (vol. 2, nos. 65, 67), June 7 (vol. 2, no. 68), July 19 (vol. 2, no. 74), Aug. 2 (supplement only), Sept. 6 (vol. 2, no. 81); 1810, Jan. 13, 27 (vol. 2, nos. 99, 101), Mch. 10 (vol. 3, no. 107), July 7 (vol. 3, no. 124), Sept. 29 (vol. 3, no. 135), Oct. 20 (vol. 3, no. 139); 1812, Sept. 19 (vol. 5, no. 242).

Library of Congress: April 21, 28, 1808; Jan. 27, 1810; Oct. 31, 1812.

Harvard University: 1810, Sept. 1-29, Oct. 20-Nov. 3, 17, Dec. 14; 1811, Jan. 21, Feb. 13-27, Mch. 13, 20, Apr. 3-24, May 15, 29, June 5, 12, July 2 (extra), 3, 10, 14 (extra), 17, Oct. 2, 3 (extra), 9, 16, 30, Nov. 6, 15, Dec. 18; 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 29, Feb. 19, Mch. 11, 18, Apr. 1, 8, 15, May 20, June 24, July 1, Aug. 5, 19, Sept. 26.

Paris, *Western Citizen* (begun 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Dec. 24 (vol. 1, no. 47).

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Dec. 31, 1908.

Lexington, *The Reporter* (begun March 12, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Mch. 12 (vol. 1, no. 1), 19-Apr. 30, Aug. 13-Sept. 8, 19, Oct. 3-17, Nov. 7, 14, Dec. 5-15; 1809, Jan. 23-Feb. 3, 21, 28, Mch. 18-Apr. 1, 15, 29, May 13, 27, June 3, 20, July 1, 8, 18, 25, Aug. 19-26, Sept. 9, 16, Oct. 21, 24, 31, Nov. 7, 11, Dec. 2, 5, 9, 16, 23, 30; 1810, Feb. 2, 17-Mch. 3,

17, 24, Apr. 7, 28, May 12, June 2, 15, 30, July 14, 21, Aug. 18-Sept. 8, 22-Oct. 27, Nov. 10-Dec. 15; 1811, Jan. 5-Feb. 2, 16-Mch. 2, 23, Apr. 6, 13, 27, May 4, 25, June 8-July 6, 20, Aug. 3-Sept. 14, Oct. 5, 12, Nov. 2-26, Dec. 7-14, 21-31; 1812, Jan. 4-18, 25, Feb. 1, 15-29, Mch. 14-Apr. 14, 21, May 9, June 6, 13, July 4, Aug. 1, 8, 22, Sept. 5, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 25, Dec. 12 (vol. 5, no. 67).

Chicago Historical Society: Jan. 28, 1809; Sept. 1, 1810; May 4, 1811; April 7, 1812.

Cincinnati Public Library: Mch. 12, 1808-Dec. 30, 1809.

Library of Congress: May 14, 1808; Mch. 30, Dec. 10, 1811.

Harvard University: 1808, May 14, 21, June 4, July 9, Aug. 13, Sept. 1, 8, 26, Oct. 3, 17, Nov. 7; 1809, Jan. 26, Apr. 1; 1810, Sept. 15, Oct. 6, 20, 27, Nov. 5, 17, 24, Dec. 15; 1811, Jan. 12, June 8, 15, July 20, Aug. 3-17, 31, Sept. 14-Oct. 12, 26, Dec. 14, 17, 21; 1812, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 4, Mch. 21, 24, 31, Apr. 4, 11, 25, June 13.

Lancaster, *Political Theatre* (begun Nov. 11, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Nov. 18, 25 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3), Dec. 3, 10 (vol. 1, nos. 4, 5); 1809, Jan. 17 (vol. 1, no. 10), Feb. 7 (vol. 1, no. 13).

Library of Congress: July 26, 1809.

Washington, *The Dove*.

Harvard University: 1812, Mch. 21 (vol. 4, no. 179).

Russellville, *The Farmer's Friend* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 14 (vol. 2, no. 41).

Library of Congress: Oct. 2, 1809; May 25, Oct. 26, Dec. 14, 1810.

Richmond, *The Globe* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Jan. 24 (vol. 1, no. 12), July 12 (vol. 1, no. 36), Aug. 1 (vol. 1, no. 39), Oct. 17 (vol. 1, no. 50).

Chicago Historical Society: Jan. 24, 1810.

Frankfort, *American Republic* (begun June 27, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, July 3 (vol. 1, no. 2), Oct. 5, 19 (vol. 1, nos. 15, 17); 1811, Mch. 1, 8, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 36, 37, 40).

Chicago Historical Society: Oct. 19, 1810.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Dec. 28, 1810.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1810-11), nos. 19, 20, 23 (one leaf), 24 (one leaf), 26, 27, 32.

Lexington, *Impartial Observer* (begun 1810).

Harvard University: 1810, Sept. 15 (vol. 1, no. 4), 22, Nov. 3, 10, 17, Dec. 10; 1811, Jan. 1, 8, 22.

Louisville, *The Western Courier* (begun 1811).

Chicago Historical Society: Aug. 28, Oct. 15, Nov. 5, 1812.

Lexington, *American Statesman* (begun July 20, 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, July 20 (vol. 1, no. 1), Aug. 31 (vol. 1, no. 7), Sept. 7, 21, 28 (vol. 1, nos. 8, 10, 11), Nov. 2, 9 (vol. 1, nos. 16, 17); 1812, Apr. 18 (vol. 1, no. 41).

Library of Congress: Oct. 12, 26, 1811.

Harvard University: 1811, July 20, 27, Aug. 31.

Georgetown, *The Telegraph* (begun 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 25 (vol. 1, no. 10).

Richmond, *The Luminary* (begun 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Jan. 18 (vol. 1, no. 26), Feb. 8, 22 (vol. 1, nos. 29, 31).

Harvard University: 1811, Aug. 14 (vol. 1, no. 5).

Lexington, *Evangelical Record and Western Review*.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati: 1812, 1 vol.

OHIO.²

Cincinnati, *Centinel of the North-Western Territory* (begun Nov. 9, 1793).

Harvard University: 1795, June 7, 27, July 4, Aug. 1, Oct. 31, Dec. 26; 1796, Apr. 9, 23, 30.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: Nov. 23, 1793-1796.

Ohio State Library: Nov. 9, 1793-Nov. 8, 1794 (lacking vol. 1, nos. 15, 37, 38, 41-47, 50).

Cincinnati, *Freeman's Journal* (begun June, 1796).

American Antiquarian Society: 1797, Mch. 25 (vol. 1, no. 40).

Harvard University: 1796, July 9 (vol. 1, no. 4), 23, 30, Aug. 6-Sept. 3, 17, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 5, 12, 26, Dec. 3-31; 1797, Mch. 4-25; 1799, Mch. 5.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: Oct. 27, 1798; Oct. 1, 1799.

Ohio State Library: Oct. 27, 1798.

Cincinnati, *The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* (begun May 28, 1799).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Aug. 10, 17, (vol. 5, nos. 2, 3); 1804, Sept. 12 (vol. 6, no. 7); 1807, Apr. 13 (vol. 8, no. 38) [this and following nos. called *Western Spy* and *Miami Gazette*], May 4 (vol. 8, no. 41), Sept. 21 (vol. 9, no. 9), Nov. 30 (vol. 9, no. 19), Dec. 7 (vol. 9, no. 20); 1808, Aug. 13 (vol. 10, no. 2).

Library of Congress: Feb. 11, 1801; Aug. 21, 1805.

Harvard University: 1801, Jan. 7.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: 1799-1806 (odd numbers).

²In locating early files in Ohio libraries, I have been much assisted by Charles B. Galbreath's *Newspapers and Periodicals in Ohio* (Columbus, 1902).

Ohio State Capitol (relic room): Sept. 31, 1799.

Young Men's Mercantile Library, Cincinnati: Aug. 26, 1806-July 2, 1808.

Chillicothe, *Scioto Gazette* (begun 1800).

American Antiquarian Society: 1800, May 10 supplement; 1801, Aug. 2 extra, Oct. 17 supplement; 1803, Taxation for 1803 extra, Oct. 8-Nov. 19 (vol. 3, nos. 175-181), Dec. 3, 10 (vol. 3, nos. 183, 184); 1804, Jan. 2, 16, 23, Feb. 20, Mch. 12, Apr. 16, 23, 30, May 14, 28-June 25, July 9-23, Oct. 15, 29, Nov. 5, 19-Dec. 3, 10; 1805, Mch. 11, 18, Apr. 1, 15-May 6, 13, 27, June 10, 24-Nov. 7, 28; 1806, Jan. 23-Mch. 13, 27-June 5, 26-July 10, Aug. 7, 28, Sept. 4, 18, Oct. 9, 23-Nov. 27, Dec. 25; 1807, Jan. 8, Feb. 5, 12, Mch. 5-19, Apr. 9, June 11, July 30, Aug. 20-Sept. 17, Oct. 1-15, 29, Nov. 19, Dec. 21; 1808, Jan. 4, 11, Mch. 21, Apr. 4-18, May 16-June 6, 20, July 11-26, Aug. 9, 23, Sept. 6, 23, Dec. 26; 1809, Jan. 16, 30, Feb. 6, 13, 27-Mch. 27, Apr. 24, May 8, 29, June 5, 12, 26, July 10, 17, Aug. 7, Sept. 11, 25-Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 13-Dec. 20; 1810, Jan. 8-Mch. 21, Apr. 11-25, May 9-23, June 6, 27-July 11, Aug. 1, 22, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Nov. 7, 21, 28, Dec. 12, 19; 1811, Jan. 9, 23, Feb. 6, 13, Mch. 13, 27, Apr. 17-May 15; 1812, Sept. 30 (vol. 12, no. 608).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 6 (1806), nos. 289-292; vol. 8 (1807), no. 372; vol. 11 (1810), no. 510.

Library of Congress: Apr. 10, 1802 (imp.); Mch. 5, 1807.

Harvard University: 1801, Oct. 17 (vol. 2, no. 78), Dec. 5; 1803, Feb. 26, July 30, Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 17, 24, Oct. 1, 8, 15; 1804, May 14, June 11, 25, July 9, 16, Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 3; 1805, Mch. 18, 25, Apr. 8, 15, 22, May 6, 13, 20, June 10, 24, July 1, 8, 22, 29, Aug. 19, 26, Sept. 2, 23, 30, Oct. 7, 24-Dec. 5, 29; 1806, Jan. 9.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland: Dec. 12, 1810.

Marietta, *Ohio Gazette and Territorial and Virginia Herald* (begun Dec. 1801).

American Antiquarian Society: 1802, Jan. 1, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 5), Feb. 5 (vol. 1, no. 8), Aug. 17 (vol. 1, no. 35), Aug. 31-Sept. 14 (vol. 1, nos. 37-39), 28-Oct. 19 (vol. 1, nos. 41-44; 1806 Apr. 24 (vol. 1, no. 47) [this and following nos. called *Ohio Gazette and Virginia Herald*]; 1809, Feb. 20, (vol. 3, no. 154), Mch. 20 (vol. 4, no. 157), Apr. 3, 10 (vol. 4, nos. 159, 160); 1810, May 21 (vol. 4, no. 198), Oct. 5 (vol. 4, no. 206); 1811, Oct. 14-Dec. 9 (vol. 5, nos. 211-215).

Chicago Historical Society: March 20, 1809.

Cincinnati, *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury* (begun Dec. 4, 1804).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Oct. 21 (vol. 2, no. 98), Nov. 18 (vol. 2, no. 102), Dec. 16 (vol. 3, no. 105); 1807, Jan. 20 (vol. 3, no. 111), Feb. 3 (vol. 3, no. 113), Mch. 3, 31 (vol. 3, nos. 117, 121), Apr. 14, 28 (vol. 3, nos. 123, 125), June 2 (vol. 3, no. 130); 1809, Feb. 16 (vol. 5, no. 221); 1810, Aug. 8 (vol. 6, no. 298); 1812, June 23 (vol. 8, no. 396), July 11 extra, 14, 21, 28 (vol. 8, nos. 399, 400, 402 [sic]), Aug. 4-18 (vol. 8, nos. 403-405), Sept.

15, 21, 25, 29 (vol. 8, nos. 409, 410, 411, 412), Oct. 13 (vol. 8, no. 414), Nov. 3-24, (vol. 9, nos. 417-420), Dec. 8 (vol. 9, no. 422).

Library of Congress: Sept. 21, 1807; Nov. 26, 1808-Apr. 3, 1811.

Harvard University: 1812, Sept. 15, Oct. 13, Nov. 3, 24.

Ohio State Library: Dec. 16, 1805 (vol. 2, no. 54)-Nov. 19, 1808 (lacking vol. 2, nos. 57, 64, 79, 86, 87, 90-92, 97, 98, 101; vol. 3, nos. 107, 115, 124, 143; vol. 4, nos. 170, 175-178, 180, 185, 190, 196-198, 206, 207).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 7 (1811), nos. 334 (imp.), 339 (imp.), 340 (imp.), 342 (imp., and supplement), 343, 344 (imp.), 346, 347 (imp.), 348 (imp.), 349 (and supplement), 350-352 (all imp.), 358 (imp.), 359; vol. 8 (1811-12), nos. 367 (imp.), 371-389 (mostly imperfect; 384 has extra), 391-416 (several imperfect; 406 has supplement); vol. 9 (1812), nos. 417-419 (with supplement), 421-425.

Young Men's Mercantile Library, Cincinnati: Dec. 4, 1804-Apr. 6, 1809.

Chillicothe, Ohio Herald (begun July 27, 1805).

American Antiquarian Society: 1805, July 27 (vol. 1, no. 1), Aug. 17 (vol. 1, no. 3).

Harvard University: 1805, July 27, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 21; 1806, June 28, Aug. 2, 30, Oct. 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15.

Lancaster, Western Oracle and the Farmers Weekly Museum (begun Nov. 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Feb. 6 (vol. 1, no. 16).

Harvard University: 1807, Mch. 20, 29, Apr. 10, 17, 24.

Steubenville, Western Herald.

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Nov. 5, 12 (vol. 6, nos. 47, 48).

Chillicothe, The Fredonian (begun Feb. 19, 1807; see also under 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Mch. 7 (vol. 1, no. 3), May 2 (vol. 1, no. 11), Aug. 7 (vol. 1, no. 25); 1808, July 22-Aug. 5 (vol. 2, nos. 65-67).

Library of Congress: Mch. 14, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808 (imp.).

Harvard University: 1807, Feb. 19 (vol. 1, no. 1), Mch. 7, 14, Apr. 4-25, May 9, 16, June 6, 13, 26, July 31, Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 25, Oct. 16, 23, Nov. 20, 27.

Wisconsin Historical Library: July 22, 1808.

Lebanon, Western Star (begun Feb. 13, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Feb. 13 (vol. 1, no. 1); 1808, June 30 (vol. 2, no. 18).

Marietta, The Commentator; and Marietta Recorder (begun Sept. 16, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Sept. 16 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 14, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 5); *The Commentator* 1809, June 10 (vol.

1, no. 34), June 24 (vol. 1, no. 36), July 1 (vol. 1, no. 37), Nov. 25 (vol. 2, no. 2); 1810, Jan. 16 (vol. 2, no. 9), Mch. 13 (vol. 2, no. 17), Apr. 8, 17 (vol. 2, nos. 20, 22), June 5, 26 (vol. 2, nos. 27, 30).

Harvard University: 1807, Oct. 14; 1808, May 25, Aug. 25.

Dayton, *Repertory*.

Dayton Public Library: 1808-1809.

New Lisbon, *Ohio Patriot* (begun 1808, re-established Nov. 4, 1809).

Ohio State Capitol (relic room): Dec. 2, 1809.

Chillicothe, *The Supporter* (begun Sept. 29, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, July 21 (vol. 1, no. 42); 1810, Jan. 6 (vol. 2, no. 66), Mch. 31 (vol. 2, no. 78), June 30 (vol. 2, no. 91), Oct. 13 (vol. 3, no. 106).

Ohio State Library: Dec. 8, 1808 (vol. 1, no. 10)-July 18, 1812 (vol. 4, no. 198) (lacking vol. 1, nos. 12-16, 18-28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37-45, 48-50, 52; vol. 2, nos. 53, 55, 61, 62, 66, 72, 75, 85, 87-91; vol. 3, nos. 111-113, 120, 131, 153, 155; vol. 4, nos. 164, 165).

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland: May 13, 1909.

St. Clairsville, *Impartial Expositor* (begun March 25, 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Mch. 25 (vol. 1, no. 1).

Cincinnati, *The Whig* (begun Apr. 13, 1809; formerly *Western Spy*, begun 1799).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Apr. 13 (vol. 1, no. 1), May 11 (vol. 1, no. 5), July 19 (vol. 1, no. 15), Sept. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 22, 23); 1810, Feb. 28 (vol. 1, no. 45), Apr. 25 (vol. 1, no. 52).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 2 (April 20, 1809).

Chillicothe, *The Independent Republican* (begun Sept. 8, 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Sept. 8-25 (vol. 1, nos. 1-3), Oct. 9, 30 (vol. 1, nos. 5, 8), Nov. 27 (vol. 1, no. 12); 1810, Jan. 4-25 (vol. 1, nos. 17-20), Feb. 8 (vol. 1, no. 22), Mch. 1-22 (vol. 1, nos. 25-28), May 24 (vol. 1, no. 37), June 28 (vol. 1, no. 42), July, 5, 19 (vol. 1, nos. 43, 45), Sept. 27 (vol. 2, no. 55) Dec. 27 (vol. 2, no. 68); 1811, May 9 (vol. 2, no. 87).

Library of Congress: Nov. 20, 1809: Feb. 1, 1810.

Harvard University: 1811, May 23, 30, June 6, 27, Aug. 1, 3.

Ohio State Library: Sept. 13, 1810-Sept. 13, 1811 (lacking vol. 2, nos. 98, 100).

Zanesville, *Muskingum Messenger* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Jan. 6 (vol. 1, no. 8), Feb. 17 (vol. 1, no. 11), Mch. 31-Apr. 21 (vol. 1, nos. 17-20), May 5-July 14 (vol. 1, nos. 22-32), Aug. 25-Sept. 8 (vol. 1, nos. 38-40), Oct. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 44, 45), 27-Dec. 1 (vol. 1, nos. 47-52); Dec. 8-26 (vol. 2, nos. 53-55); 1811, Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30 (vol. 2, nos. 56, 57, 59, 60), Feb. 20 (vol. 2, no. 63), Mch. 16 (vol. 2, no. 65), Apr. 6-May 29 (vol. 2, nos. 68-76), June 19-July 3 (vol. 2, nos. 79-81), 17-Aug. 6 (vol. 2, nos. 83-86), 28-Dec. 4 (vol. 2, nos. 89-104), 11-25 (vol. 3, nos. 105-107); 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 15 (vol. 3, nos. 108, 5, 6), 29-Feb.

19 (vol. 3, nos. 8-11), Mch. 4 (vol. 3, no. 13), Apr. 8 (vol. 3, no. 15), June 3-July 15 (vol. 3, nos. 22-28), Aug. 5, 19 (vol. 3, nos. 31, 33), Sept. 2 (vol. 3, no. 35), 16-30 (vol. 3, nos. 37-39), Oct. 14 (vol. 3, no. 41), Nov. 4, 18 (vol. 3, nos. 44, 46), Dec. 2-30 (vol. 3, nos. 48-52).

Cincinnati, *The Advertiser* (begun June 13, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, June 13 (vol. 1, no. 1), 27 (vol. 1, no. 3).

Lancaster, *Political Observatory, and Fairfield Register* (begun 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 8, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 7, 8).

Cincinnati, *Western Spy* (begun Sept. 1, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 1 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 6 (vol. 1, no. 5), Dec. 1 (vol. 1, no. 12); 1811, Feb. 9, 16, 23 (vol. 1, nos. 22, 23, 24), Mch. 23, 30 (vol. 1, nos. 28, 29), June 15 (vol. 1, no. 40), July 20 (vol. 1, no. 45), Sept. 28 (vol. 2, no. 55); 1812, Mch. 21 (vol. 2, no. 8), Dec. 19 (vol. 3, no. 119).

Harvard University: 1810, Sept. 15, Dec. 3, 15; 1811, Jan. 19-Feb. 9, 23, Mch. 16, 23, Apr. 27, May 4, 18, 25, June 1, 22, July 6, 20, 27, Aug. 7, 24, Oct. 19, Nov. 9; 1812, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 26.

Marietta, *Western Spectator* (begun Oct. 23, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Oct. 30-Nov. 13 (vol. 1, nos. 2-4), 27 (vol. 1, no. 6), Dec. 4 (vol. 1, no. 7); 1811, Mch. 12 (vol. 1, no. 19), May 11 (vol. 1, no. 28), June 1 (vol. 1, no. 31); 1812, Jan. 25 (vol. 2, no. 45).

Harvard University: 1810, Nov. 13, 20; 1811, Jan. 14, Mch. 5, 12, May 4, June 3, 29, July 6, 23, Aug. 3, Sept. 7, 21, Oct. 8, 26, Nov. 2, 11, Dec. 21; 1812, Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1, 15, 29, Mch. 21, May 2-23, July 11, 18, Aug. 8, Oct. 17.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 2 (Oct. 30, 1810).

Dayton, *Ohio Centinel* (begun May 3, 1810).

Dayton Public Library: 1810-1812.

Lancaster, *Independent Press* (begun 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Sept. 12 (vol. 2, no. 70).

Chillicothe, *The Fredonian* (begun Sept. 19, 1811, continuation of *Independent Republican*; removed to Circleville, Oct. 3, 1811; removed to Chillicothe, Aug. 25, 1812).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Sept. 16 (vol. 3, no. 51).

Harvard University: 1811, Oct. 3, 30, Nov. 6, 20, Dec. 18; 1812, Feb. 12, Mch. 18.

Ohio State Library: 1811, Sept. 19 (no. 106), Oct. 16 (vol. 3, no. 5)-1812, Aug. 11 (vol. 3, no. 47), 1812, Aug. 25 (vol. 3, no. 48)-Dec.

Worthington, *Western Intelligencer* (begun 1811).

Harvard University: 1812, Dec. 16.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 5 (Feb. 7, 1812; imp.).

Circleville, *The Fredonian*, see Chillicothe, *The Fredonian*.

Franklinton, *Freeman's Chronicle* (begun 1812).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, July 2, 9, 16 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3, 4).

Harvard University: 1812, Sept. 5, 12, 21, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Dec. 5.

Warren, *Trump of Fame* (begun 1812).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Nov. 5 (vol. 1, no. 12), Dec. 30 (vol. 1, no. 29).

Western Reserve Historical Society: 1812, June-Dec.

Zanesville, *Express and Republican Standard* (begun 1812).

Chillicothe Public Library: Dec. 30, 1812-Dec. 19, 1816.

INDIANA.

Vincennes, *Indiana Gazette* (begun July 31, 1804).

American Antiquarian Society: 1804, Aug. 7-28 (vol. 1, nos. 2-5), Oct. 23 (vol. 1, no. 13); 1805, Aug. 7, 14 (vol. 1, nos. 44, 45).

Harvard University: 1804, Aug. 7-21, Sept. 11-Oct. 2, 16, 23.

Vincennes, *Western Sun* (begun 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, May 13 (vol. 2, no. 26); 1810, July 21 (vol. 3, no. 30), Aug. 4 (vol. 3, no. 32).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 10 (Sept. 5, 1807).

Indiana State Library: 1807+ (except vol. 1, no. 1, and vol. 2, no. 18).

Library of Congress: May 6, 13, 27, June 3, 10, July 1, 8, 15, Aug. 5, 12, 19, Sept. 2, Dec. 16, 30, 1809; Dec. 9, 1812.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis, *Missouri Gazette* (begun July 12, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, July 26 (vol. 1, no. 3) [facsimile]; 1809, Mch. 22 (vol. 1, no. 35), May 24 (vol. 1, no. 44).

Library of Congress: July 26, 1808 (facsimile).

Office of St. Louis Republic: 1808+

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1, nos. 3 (July 26, 1808, in four facsimiles of different dates), 12 (Oct. 5, 1808).

St. Louis, *Louisiana Gazette* (continuation of *Missouri Gazette*).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, July 19 (vol. 2, no. 104); 1811, Mch. 28 (vol. 3, no. 140), Apr. 11, 18 (vol. 3, nos. 142, 143).

EARLY SPANISH CARTOGRAPHY OF THE NEW WORLD.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
WOLFENBÜTTEL-SPANISH MAP AND THE
WORK OF DIEGO RIBERO

BY EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON.

Great value attaches to old maps as sources in the study of History. They often indicate, by mere touch, a story of exploration or discovery, concerning which the written documents are silent. Portuguese discoveries along the northeast coast of America are vastly better recorded on early maps than either in extant official documents or in the personal narratives of the explorers themselves.

"Historians, geographers, explorers, and travelers," says Kohl, "have sometimes laid down on their maps and charts certain facts of which they omit to speak in their reports and books, finding it easier to speak to the eye than to the ear; rather to convey the information they wish to impart, by using the brief and compact delineation of the map, instead of the diffuse and combersome phraseology of the book."¹

It is cause for regret that so few maps of the early years of great geographical discovery have come down to us. Numerous references in the literature of the period bear witness that those extant are but a remnant of the many which were then constructed.² With scarcely an exception

¹ Kohl: History of the Discovery of Maine, in Publications of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 26.

² Harrisse: The Discovery of North America, pp. 375 seq. Mention is here made of these references.

It may here be stated that the words *chart* and *map* in this paper are used as synonymous. There is historical and scientific reason for employing the former when speaking of coast and marine geography, and the latter when speaking of land geography.

the original maps, that is the coast sketches made by pilots, captains, and professional cosmographers, who accompanied the early exploring expeditions, have been lost or destroyed. Extant maps, for the most part, are derivatives, into which numerous *de visu* sketches and descriptive records have entered.

These, very naturally, do not possess equal merit. Inaccurate surveys,³ careless transcriptions,⁴ intentional falsifications,⁵ preconceived and often erroneous geographical notions,⁶ enter in part, as determining factors into the quality of the chart-maker's product. There were numerous practical and theoretical difficulties with which the chart-makers had to contend, and these difficulties were very tardily overcome. Such facts should not be overlooked in the study and interpretation of old maps. Despite the many defects, through their legends, their pictures, their geographical nomenclature, through the delineations of coast lines, old maps possess a value as sources above that which historians have generally ascribed to them. Both as geographical and as historical documents they are indeed worthy careful study, yielding, on critical examination, most interesting and profitable results in both fields.

Very naturally one would expect to find the greatest activity in charting the newly found coasts, in those countries most directly interested in maritime exploration, and among their map products to find those of greatest importance which were draughted during the period of discovery. Yet in this connection the following briefly stated facts are worthy of note touching the cartographical interests

³This of course was due to the comparatively primitive state of nautical science.

⁴It is especially noticeable in the spelling of the names. He who undertakes to decipher the geographical names and legends on these early maps finds himself repeatedly confronted with perplexing problems.

⁵Santa Cruz says that the Portuguese were in the habit of constructing false maps for sale to foreigners, while those for use at home were more nearly correctly drawn. *Vide* Navarrete: *Opusculos* Vol. I, p. 61 seq. We learn from the report of the Badajoz Junta of 1524 that many maps were submitted in evidence which purposely contained errors. *Vide* the interesting extracts from the records touching the deliberations of the Junta in Blair and Robertson: *The Philippine islands*, Vol. I, pp. 165-222.

⁶Note especially the survival of the Ptolemaic ideas; the idea of the existence of a strait through which one might pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the idea of an Asiatic connection of the New World, et al.

and influences of the several European states:—The Juan de la Cosa map is the only one of great importance known which was draughted in Spain during the first thirty years after Columbus opened the way to the new regions in the west. Portuguese influence during this period is most strikingly pronounced in maps extant which lay down the new coasts. Although native Italians were among the most prominent explorers and chart-makers who served the kings of Spain and Portugal, the Italian cartographers at home exhibited a tardy interest in adding these new coasts to their world maps, but after the middle of the sixteenth century their work came to be of first importance. It is further noteworthy that the Germans, although occupying an inland country, through their interest in the new scientific studies, particularly geography, and mathematics as applied to astronomy and navigation, exerted an influence upon the cartography of the New World during the early years of the sixteenth century, unsurpassed by any other country of Europe. French cartography is comparatively of late origin, exhibiting from the first both Spanish and Portuguese influence, while the important cartographical documents of the Low Countries and of England belong to the late sixteenth century.⁷

The evolution of New World cartography is but incidentally the theme of this paper. Its primary purpose is to direct attention to some of the more striking facts in the development of Spanish cartography until the appearance of its best type—that which may be called the Sevillan, and to consider this best type as we find it exhibited particularly in the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map, which document hitherto has been but briefly mentioned.⁸

⁷ Vide Stevenson: Typical Early Maps of the New World, in Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, April 1907, pp. 202-224.

⁸ Harrisse: Discovery of North America, p. 580 refers to it as "Wolfenbüttel Map B" (should read A), and quotes a few of the names which appear for the first time on this map. Biggar: Voyages of the Cabots and Corte-Reals in Revue Hispanique, 1903, p. 493 refers to its important Labrador legend.

Stevenson: Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1903-1906, No. 8. A few copies of the map in size of the original were reproduced in this series and in the accompanying text it was briefly described.

At a date much earlier than the discovery of America the science of navigation, and what pertained thereto, including chart-making, was taught in the principal ports of Spain and Portugal. "From the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," reads a *cedula* of Ferdinand and Isabella referring to the long existence of laws regulating the affairs of a school of Basque pilots at the port of Cadiz, which laws, by this *cedula* of March 18, 1500, received royal confirmation.⁹

At other ports, such as that of Palos and Seville, there could scarcely have been less activity. Strangely enough, the work of these early Spanish schools has practically all disappeared save as some of its features may have been incorporated into later and yet surviving charts.¹⁰

In the oldest extant map which exhibits any considerable part of the new lands discovered in the west, we have the work of a Biscayan chart-maker and that of one who perhaps found employment in his early years in the port of Cadiz.

It is possible that the Juan de la Cosa map gives us a fair example of an early Cadiz or Palos type of map-making;¹¹ it certainly does not belong to that which I have called the Sevillian type although draughted at "Puerto de Santa Maria" where the distinguished pilot made his home for some years.

Were an earlier type to be found than that represented by the work of Juan de la Cosa it doubtless would greatly magnify the insular character of the new discoveries. It appears to have been the early belief of Columbus that he had "found many islands," and his word doubtless had a determining influence in the first efforts to chart the new regions. We probably have in part a survival of an early Spanish theory and map-type in the Munich-Portuguese

⁹ Navarrete: *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Nautica*, p. 357.

¹⁰ An interesting and helpful monograph could be written on the early Spanish schools of chart-makers. No attempt has been made at a systematic presentation of this subject.

¹¹ The most satisfactory reproduction of this map is that issued in 1892 by Canovas Vallejo y Traynor. A new issue is proposed for the series edited by Edward L. Stevenson under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America.

chart of about 1502,¹² as also in the King chart of about the same date.

The insular theory seems not to have been generally held in Spain or in Portugal after about 1500. Although Spanish maps of the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, as I have said, are wanting to prove the assertion, the fact is abundantly attested by other evidence. Portuguese maps, for example, furnish proof positive that after the Corte-Real voyages there was a prevailing belief in the existence of a continent lying between the ocean which stretches to the west of Europe and the ocean stretching to the east of Asia or Cathay.

We know that the Spanish sovereigns on the return of Columbus were interested in acquiring detailed information concerning the geography of the new discoveries and in the charting of the same, though it does not appear that they at once formulated a policy which called for royal supervision in the construction of such charts. Official Spanish maps are of later date. "Forward to us immediately the map which we asked you to send us before your departure, complete, and write thereon the names," was the request sent by the Queen to Columbus in September 1493, which perhaps was the mere expression of a personal desire to be well informed concerning the new acquisitions and that too from the best source. He was not called upon to keep secret his knowledge; on the contrary he and not the sovereign was to say whether the information was to be generally known. "If you do not wish us to show the map to any one", said the Queen, "you should write so."¹³

The decade following the first voyage of Columbus was the period in which Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonesca

¹² In part reproduced in Kunstmann's Atlas. It may be found in size of the original in Stevenson: *Maps illustrating early Exploration and Discovery in the New World*, New Brunswick, 1903-1906, Number 2. A reproduction of the King Chart may be found in Nordenskiöld: *Periplus*, Plate XLV. To these charts, exhibiting the New World as insular in character, may be added the Lenox Globe, described by De Costa in the *Magazine of American History*, September 1897; the so-called Da Vinci Gores, described by Major in *Archologia*, Vol. 40; the Jagalonicus Globe, a remarkable and little known globe, described by Tadeus Estreicher in *Bulletin International de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie*, Mars 1900.

¹³ *Vide* Harrisse 1. c. p. 402.

exercised a general supervision over all matters pertaining to colonial and maritime affairs. Though imperious, selfish, and jealous of Spanish interests in most of his dealings, it is hardly probable, as has often been asserted, that an effort was made to keep secret a knowledge of the location of the discoveries and of their extent. It could not have been done had it been desired. Information accumulated rapidly which both official and clandestine explorers brought back from trans-Atlantic voyages and this information was incorporated into the work of the chart-makers who with great freedom plied their trade in the principal ports, selling their copies to their countrymen or to foreigners who carried them to their distant homes.¹⁴

The loss of Spanish charts on which the discoveries were sketched, can not be attributed either to an early or a late state policy of enforcing secrecy concerning the discoveries.¹⁵

Not the least important reason for their disappearance, and there are many reasons, is the fact that maps of the new regions were soon out of date and became therefore practically worthless.¹⁶

A systematic supervision of all matters pertaining to the Indies began in 1503 with the establishment of the Casa de la Contratacion.¹⁷ In the organization of this Indian House provision was made for all things necessary (*todos los aparejos*) to the proper transaction of business connected with the affairs of the new possessions. Its pilots were recognized as especially skillful. Its chart-makers had superior facilities for their work, being at all time supplied with the latest geographical information.¹⁸

¹⁴ Christopher Columbus sent his own map to Palos to be copied, on request of Angelo Trivigiano, Secretary of the Venetian Legation in Spain. *Vide* for a letter of Trivigiano, dated August 21, 1501 in Harriase: Christophe Colomb, Vol. II, pp. 116-124.

¹⁵ There was doubtless, at times, certain information which both Spain and Portugal desired to keep secret concerning new discoveries. It is certain that it never was a general and a fixed policy to keep all knowledge of the discoveries secret.

¹⁶ It was not an uncommon practice to alter the date of maps, where originally given. An interesting illustration may be found in the case of the Maiollo map of 1527 which was altered, though we know not when, to 1587. *Vide* the reproduction in Stevenson: Maps illustrating early discovery and Exploration, Number 10.

¹⁷ Navarrete: *Collección de Viages*. Vol. II, p. 285.

¹⁸ Bancroft: *Central America*, Vol. I, p. 282, gives some of the details concerning the organization of the Casa.

It could not have been to enforce secrecy that, as Linages tells us,¹⁹ the official charts of the Casa de la Contratacion were kept in a strong box, the keys of which were entrusted to the pilot major and to the cosmographer, for we find that an ordinance of July 12, 1512, authorized the pilot major, then Juan Diaz de Solis, to make and sell, at a fixed price, copies of the official map to any pilot who wished to purchase.²⁰

The number and the variety of maps must have rapidly multiplied in the early years of the sixteenth century, and the Casa must have had a rich store of such documents. Prompted by the fact that numerous errors had crept into the maps offered for sale, and also by the commendable desire to have all maps, particularly those passing as official record the latest geographical data, a royal order was issued August 6, 1508, for the creation of a *padron real*, an official pattern or standard map.²¹ To this end the most skilful pilots of the realm were to be organized as a commission, over which commission Amerigo Vespucci, recently appointed pilot major,²² was to preside. It was ordered that this pattern map should include "all lands and islands of the Indies discovered to date and belonging to the crown." All official pilots were commanded to use it on their voyage, under penalty for violation, and were to record thereon "all new lands, islands, bays, harbors, and other things worthy of being noted."²³ On their return to Spain this was to be handed over to the pilot major, oath being required as to the truthfulness of the report, and he with the official cosmographer was to consider the

¹⁹ Veitia Linages: Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias occidentales, lib. II, cap. xi.

²⁰ Vide Muñoz MSS. Vol. xv, fol. 105 for a copy of the ordinance. It appears, however, that that part of the ordinance, which granted a monopoly privilege to the pilot major to sell copies of the official maps was not strictly observed. The *padron real*, we know, was counterfeited and sold as if official. Vide Muñoz MSS. Vol. xc, fol. 123 for reference to an application by the pilot major for redress. Muñoz MSS. Vol. xlv, fol. 2 gives an interesting dialogue by Ferdinand Columbus touching the subject of restrictions which the pilot major attempted to impose upon pilots and masters. This is translated by Harrisse, Discoveries, p. 264.

²¹ Navarrete: Coleccion de Documentos, Vol. III, p. 300.

²² Vespucci was appointed pilot major March 22, 1508. Navarrete: l. c. p. 297.

²³ Vide Navarrete as in note 21.

advisability of inserting in the large standard map of the hydrographic office such data as had been gathered.²⁴ If we now possessed a copy of such pattern map or maps, those bearing a genuinely official character, we should be supplied with detailed and graphic information concerning the progress of discovery. But these standard or pattern maps have likewise disappeared, though we possess not a few examples of Spanish cartographical work which have at least a semi-official character, and perhaps are imperfect copies of official maps. Not the least interesting of these is the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map.

Confusion of data was the inevitable result of the great accumulation of information gathered somewhat promiscuously.

A pattern map to be useful had to be truthful since confusion of claims and political complications could easily result from inaccurate reports.

In 1515 Spain seized Portuguese vessels which had crossed the Line of Demarcation and entered the region of Spanish jurisdiction, and Portugal retaliated by seizing Spanish ships. To avoid further conflict between these two countries a junta of pilots was called to correct the maps, and to make the necessary surveys that future differences might be avoided.²⁵ Among those participating in the work of this junta of 1515 we find the names of Sebastian Cabot, the Pinzons, Juan Vespucci, Antonio Mauro, and that of the pilot major, Juan Diaz de Solis.²⁶ Kohl thinks it not improbable that we have in part, the work of the

²⁴ "It was evidently a plane chart, traversed by the line of demarcation, such as it had been settled between Spain and Portugal in 1494, drawn at a distance equal to five degrees of longitude west of the westernmost of the Cape de Verde islands; but at first with no indication of the degrees of latitude, except as such could be derived from its equator and tropic of cancer, as in La Cosa's great map. Afterward it was crossed with latitudinal, and later still, also with longitudinal lines." Harrisse: *The Discovery of North America*, p. 259.

This conjecture of Harrisse is almost a perfect, though brief description of the Wolfenbüttel map, which map Harrisse had not seen, although he had very briefly described it.

²⁵ Herrera: *Decades*, II, lib. i. xii.

²⁶ Spain employed as pilots, captains, and cosmographers, men of different nationalities, perhaps for the information they were thought to possess as well as for their special skill. *Vide* for a partial list, Harrisse l. c. pp. 261-262; also the biographical notes at the end of the volume.

junta, or of a Spanish pattern map prepared under the auspices of Solis, in the map of 1519 by Veconte Maiollo, and that on the Munich-Portuguese map of about the same date we find the New World laid down from the Portuguese standpoint.²⁷

The success of the Magellan expedition led to new political difficulties by opening a western route to the Indies of the east. The Cortes conquest of Mexico with other Spanish advances in exploration, quickened in general the spirit of New World adventure. In short throughout the decade following the meeting of the junta in 1515, whose work appears to have amounted to very little, there had been many new discoveries, all of which had been charted with varying degrees of accuracy, and most of this information had found its way into the hydrographic office of the pilot major. Not a few maps of large size appear to have been drawn in this period by non-official chart-makers, such as those executed by Garcia de Torino, a copy of which we probably have in the Turin-Spanish map of about 1523.²⁸

Again in 1524 a junta of pilots and others who had knowledge of the Indies both east and west met at Badajoz and Yelves to undertake the adjustment of Spanish and Portuguese rival claims affected by the Magellan and other expeditions.²⁹ The position of the Line of Demarcation was the first point of vital importance for this junta to settle. Gomara says there were many days spent by this commission in examining the globes and marine maps which had been brought to Badajoz.³⁰ If we had the

²⁷ Kohl: *Die beiden ältesten Generalkarten von Amerika*, p. 30. No superior piece of map study has ever been published than is this work by Dr. J. G. Kohl, appearing in 1860. It has been an invaluable reference work in the preparation of this paper.

The two maps, referred to by Kohl, and in part reproduced by him, as well as the Maiollo map and the Munich-Portuguese map have been reproduced complete, and in size of the originals in Stevenson: *Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration*, Numbers 4, 5, 9, 11.

²⁸ *Vide* the reproduction of this map in size of the original with a brief description, in Stevenson: *Maps*, No. 6.

²⁹ An excellent account of this conference may be found in Blair and Robertson: *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. I, pp. 165 seq.

³⁰ Gomara: *Historia de las Indias*, Cap. 100.

charts there exhibited by the representatives of the two nations, they would scarcely prove to be of much scientific value, since both parties were bent on a policy of deception and, in support of their respective claims, presented maps that were either antiquated or were purposely falsified. If the results of the conference were not alike satisfactory to all, the Spaniards, at least, were now agreed that this line, as Gomara tells us, should extend through Punta de Humos, on the Marañon, and Punta de Buen Abrigo, on the Laplata, and that it should extend to the westward of the Moluccas which would place these islands under the Spanish flag.⁸¹

Such is about the position of the line as we find it on the maps of the Sevillian type.

Learning that the existing charts were contradictory and uncertain, a revision, for a third time, was ordered by the Emperor October 6, 1526. Over the junta, which he appointed, Ferdinand Columbus was called to preside.⁸² Although this son of the great discoverer was a chart-maker of some distinction and was pilot major, Kohl is scarcely warranted in attributing the Weimar-Spanish map of 1527 to him, merely because he was the junta's presiding officer, though the map he thinks was the direct outcome of the conference and hence the new official map. An order of the Queen makes it very certain that the new and corrected map, if constructed before 1533, was the work of Diego Ribero.⁸³ There is, however, good reason for thinking that in the four

⁸¹ Gomara l. c. Cap. 100.

Oviedo says "Desde el Cabo del Palmar á la línea de la demarcación que tiene Castilla con Portugal, viniendo al Occidente la costa, abaxo hay ochenta leguas: la qual línea passa de Norte á Sur, por la punta que llaman de *Fueros ó Humos* en la Tierra-Firme, hasta nuestro polo ártico, y responde en la parte austral hácia el ántártico, en el dicho Cabo de Buen Abrigo." Historia General, lib. xxi., cap. iii., in Vol. ii., p. 122.

⁸² Vide Herrera: Decades, III. lib. iv., cap. xi.

⁸³ Vide Harrisse l. c. p. 266 where the order of the Queen is given. From this it appears that the chart was not constructed, since the order is dated May 20, 1535. It reads in Harrisse translation "Don Fernando Columbus: You are well aware that my lord the Emperor, by one of his cedula dated from Grenada, on the sixth day of the month of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, charged you with ordering from Diego Ribero, our pilot, and other individuals, a sailing chart which should embrace all the islands and continent now discovered, or to be found hereafter".



extant Sevillan maps draughted shortly after the conference of 1526 and bearing in two cases the name of Diego Ribero we have a near approach to a royal standard map if not virtual copies of one. Neither of them, however, bears the official attest though each gives evidence of having been based upon information furnished by the Casa de la Contratacion. Of these, the Wolfenbüttel map has the most detailed geographical nomenclature, indeed a richer nomenclature than has any other map of the first fifty years after the Columbus discovery.

The oldest Spanish maps of importance which have come down to us belong, then, to the third decade of the sixteenth century, and of these there are no less than seven, all of considerable size. Arranged in what I take to be an accurate chronological order they may be designated as the Turin-Spanish,⁸⁴ the Salvati,⁸⁵ the Mantuan,⁸⁶ the Weimar-Spanish,⁸⁷ the Weimar-Ribero,⁸⁸ the Propaganda-Ribero,⁸⁹ and the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish.

All clearly possess at least a semi-official character, but exhibit shades of differences, the last five being strikingly similar. All belong to what I have called the Sevillan type, a type which persists to the end of the century, repeatedly modified, however, through an incorporation

⁸⁴ This map may be found in the Royal Library of Turin, Italy. It is 201 by 100 cm. in size, is unsigned and undated, but is probably the work of Gracia de Torino. Internal evidence seems to warrant our fixing its date at 1523.

⁸⁵ A manuscript map of the world on parchment 209 by 93 cm. in size, and is preserved in the Laurentian Library of Florence, Italy. It is neither signed nor dated, but appears to have been drawn before 1526. Twice on the map the coat of arms of the Salvati appears.

⁸⁶ This map belonging to Marquis D. Rosa Castiglioni of Mantua, Italy, is 213 by 81 cm. in size. It resembles very closely the Ribero maps. A reproduction of a small part of the map may be found in *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi*, Pt. iv, Vol. II, Tav. III.

⁸⁷ A world map 216 by 86 cm. in size. It is in the possession of the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar, Germany. It is dated 1527 and is signed merely "vn Cosmographo de Sv Magestad."

⁸⁸ This world map, the work of "Diego Ribero Cosmographo de su Magestad" is dated 1529. It is 217 by 89 cm. in size, and is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar.

⁸⁹ This map is framed and hangs in the Museum of the Propaganda, Rome. It is signed, as the former, by Ribero. It has been reproduced by Griggs of London, though much reduced in size.

Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, in the order here given were issued in 1903-1906 by the author of this paper under the title "Maps illustrating early Exploration and Discovery in the New World"—twelve maps, each in size of the original.

of the results of successive discoveries. Three of them are dated, two bearing the name of Diego Ribero and are dated 1529; the third of 1527 purports to be the work of a Cosmographer of his Majesty, (vn cosmographo de Sv. Magestad).

The Wolfenbüttel map is one embodying the most important features of the type, but is neither signed nor dated. It is probably not of later date than 1530, and may have been drawn as early as 1527. So striking is the resemblance in coast outline and nomenclature to the signed work of Ribero that it at once suggests his authorship. It would add no little interest to the document were we able to determine this point. In the spelling of its geographical names it follows Ribero far more closely than it does either of the others mentioned. Its landscapes closely resemble the landscapes of the Propaganda Ribero. It exhibits, however, additional geographical information, but we know that the work of that distinguished chart-maker did not end with that which he has dated 1529, as he continued his scientific activities until his death in 1533.

There appears to be but little known of the life of Diego Ribero. It is certain that he was a native of Portugal where he probably acquired his great skill as a scientific chart-maker. No earlier reference to him has been found than that recorded by Navarrete wherein the statement is made that he was entrusted with the construction of charts for the Magellan expedition, and it is implied that he did his work under the direction of Reinel.⁴⁰ As early as 1523 we find him referred to as "Cosmografo, mestre de hacer cartas e astrolabios e otros ingenios, con 25000 de salario."⁴¹

In 1524 he was summoned as "Consultor" (Scientific expert) to attend the Junta of Badajoz, and to supply the necessary globes, charts, and instruments for the determination of the important geographical questions which might come before that body such as the determination of the Line of Demarcation. In this same year he assisted the Genoese

⁴⁰ Navarrete: Coleccion IV, p. 155.

⁴¹ Muñoz MSS. LXXV, 213; LXXVI, 308.

Ambassador Martin Centurione, in the preparation of a Spanish edition of Duarte Barbosa's description of the East Indian region.⁴² When in 1525 Da Loaysa undertook his South Sea expedition he had with him charts which Ribero had constructed.⁴³ So far as we have knowledge he never visited the New World, though it appears that he was a practical seaman, for in 1525 he is referred to as "Piloto de Su Magestad."⁴⁴ He was on intimate terms with Ferdinand Columbus, who during the absence of Sebastian Cabot on his La Plata expedition, was entrusted with the office of Pilot Major.⁴⁵ Ribero was selected as Columbus' assistant and had assigned to him the place of examiner of pilots in which work he was assisted by Alonso de Chaves.

In 1526 the Emperor Charles V, directed that a new standard map should be constructed and he commanded Ferdinand Columbus that he should entrust the work to Diego Ribero and certain other designated cosmographers.⁴⁶ Not only was he an expert in the construction of globes, charts, and nautical instruments, but from Navarrete we learn that he was the inventor of a "Bombas de achicar" (ship pump) and that the Emperor rewarded him for this with 6000mrs.⁴⁷

Of the signed work of Ribero which has come down to us we have the two maps of 1529. If the Wolfenbüttel map is not the work of his hand, there is good reason for affirming it to be a direct copy of a map drawn by this very distinguished chart-maker.

While the other Sevillian maps to which I have called attention include the greater part of the world, are covered with numerous compass lines, have numerous compass roses, and have also the degrees of latitude and longitude

⁴² Oviedo in Ramusio III, p. 189 refers to Ribero as a writer stating that he had prepared a work on Cosmography.

⁴³ Navarrete: Coleccion V, 255. Also V, 270 where the charts of Ribero and Nufio Garcia are compared.

⁴⁴ Muñoz MSS. LXXVII, 165; LXXVIII, 181.

⁴⁵ Herrera 1. c. III, 294; IV, 30.

⁴⁶ Oviedo 1. c. II, 149. It does not appear that this chart was constructed. *Vide ante*, p. 378 n.

⁴⁷ Navarrete: 1. c. I, p. CXXIV.

indicated though omitting all parallel and meridian lines save the circles, the tropics, and the equator, the Wolfenbüttel map includes only the western half of the world, that is, the Americas, and the Molucca Islands with a small part of the neighboring mainland, omits the compass lines and the compass roses, and all indications of graduation save that the circles and the equator are drawn.

The map is richly colored and is remarkably well preserved. Though its colors are mellowed with age, its legends and its geographical nomenclature, partly in red and partly in black according to the practice of early chart-makers, can easily be read with but few exceptions. The numerous landscapes are rather conventional, most of them being enlivened with pictures of animals, either birds or monkeys.

It is drawn on two large parchment sheets, the one 70 by 83 cm. the other 58 by 83 cm., and so constructed as to admit a perfect adjustment. The two artistic wind heads in the upper and the lower corners on the left, there being none on the right, seem to argue that the map-maker had designed a world map, of which the Old World part, if completed, has been lost. Only the regions of Spain's new discoveries and possessions appear.

Very little is known of the history of the chart, a fact which the author of this paper received from Geheimrath Otto v. Heinnemann, former Librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Grand Ducal Library, in which library this valuable document is preserved. In that part of the printed catalogue of the library titled "*Zugabe zur zweiten Abteilung die Augusteischen Handschriften*" it is entered as "104 A und B (olim 94 und 95) Aug. fol., 16 Jahrh. (um 1525). Zwei Bll. 3891, 3892." The catalogue reference, containing a very brief description of the two parts, concludes with the following note:—"Ein Facsimile der Karte A habe ich seiner Zeit zur Weltausstellung nach Chicago geschickt, von wo es nie zurückgekehrt ist: wahrscheinlich hat sich ein Liebhaber gefunden, der es hat mitgehen heissen."

To the present Librarian, Professor Dr. Gustav Milchsack, who has shown a most courteous and cordial interest

in this reproduction, under whose direction the map was photographed, and who kindly corrected the manuscript copy of the legends and geographical names sent to him some months since, very sincere thanks are here expressed.

Though the map is not graduated, we can easily determine the author's belief as to the latitude and the longitude of all places recorded by a comparison with the signed Ribero maps on which maps the graduation is clearly indicated. Where coast indentations vary, the differences are but slight. Inaccuracy in geographical location, it should be noted, both for latitude and longitude, is an error common to all early maps of the New World. The extent of the error, though varying with the chart-makers, is in general more marked for longitude than for latitude, and is the greater for each in the higher latitudes.⁴⁸ Error in latitude on the Wolfenbüttel map does not appear at any point to exceed about five degrees and in general is less than two degrees; error in longitude varies from about two degrees on the west coast of the Gulf of Mexico to nearly twenty degrees in the Labrador regions. Resulting from this last given fact, the latitudes being very nearly accurate, we have a too rapid trend of the coast to eastward and consequently a too great lengthening of the Atlantic coast line. Herein is exhibited one of the most striking features of the Sevillian map type. The plane construction of the map, in which construction the degrees of latitude and of longitude are practically of the same length, will not account for this error. Given the location of the lands of the Corte-Reals and of Labrador as they appear on the earliest known Portuguese charts, which are from fifteen to twenty degrees too far east,⁴⁹ and the position of Florida on early maps

⁴⁸ It should not have been a difficult matter to determine latitude with a very near approach to accuracy in that early day. Instruments, however, were wanting with which to determine longitude, hence the remarkable errors of the time, which appear on the charts, and hence the disputes which in particular occurred between Spain and Portugal arising from the inability to fix geographical position in longitude with any satisfactory measure of certainty.

⁴⁹ This error of location in longitude appears very striking on such maps as the Cantino and the Canerio, also on their derivatives, the Waldseemüller maps, the Munich-Portuguese map of about 1519, and on most of those of the Lusitano-Germanic type.

with its longitude more nearly accurate, the error in trend could have resulted, in part at least, from the attempt to connect the two regions of earliest discovery after the later exploration of the intervening coast line, which exploration did not take place officially until after 1520. It, however, is not insisted that this point is one of great weight, though it was doubtless a contributing factor to the error.

To what extent Captains, pilots, and cosmographers employed the compass in determining the direction of the coast trend, how extensive was their knowledge of magnetic variation and how far the map-makers were influenced in their work by the scientific fact of declination it is not easy to determine.⁵⁰ Herein, it appears to me, we have one of the most interesting problems in early map construction, in the solution of which the scientist and the historian can well unite their efforts.

In the construction of such maps as the Wolfenbüttel it does not clearly appear that the fact of declination received consideration.⁵¹ On the contrary the rapid eastward trend of the Atlantic coast might well be due to a belief that the magnetic meridian and the true meridian were one and the same, whereas we know that the declination of that day on the east coast of North America was several degrees to the west, and that it still is from 0 to 50 degrees or more.⁵²

⁵⁰ Pedro de Medina in his "Arte de Navegar," Valladolid 1545 expressly denies the fact of variation. Vide Gilbert: *Loadstones and Magnetic Bodies*, 1893, p. 251. This work first appeared in 1600.

⁵¹ Assuming that the early explorers did not generally take into account the fact that the magnetic meridian and the geographic meridian might differ, and differ greatly (this point has not been as fully investigated as it should be), it is easy to see how the coast which had been charted from the records of compass bearings should run too rapidly eastward as one passed in the general direction from south to north.

The *portolani* which lay down the Mediterranean, support the theory here advanced. On all it will be found that points on the eastern Mediterranean coast are relatively and often actually too far to the north from five to six or seven degrees. This suggests an eastward declination of the needle, if the compass was employed in determining coast contours and directions. We can not easily determine the amount of declination for various early periods, but we know that the declination in the Mediterranean regions was to the east. The errors we find on the early maps are retained for centuries. For example, the errors appearing on the Carignano chart of about 1300 are about the same for the east Mediterranean as they are on the Verrazano map of 1529.

⁵² Off the northeast coast of Greenland on the Ruysch map we find the legend "Here the ship's compass does not hold nor is a ship bearing iron able to turn and depart." The origin of the legend is not definitely known. As here placed, it is probably to be attributed to an early explorer who observed the needle's great declination.

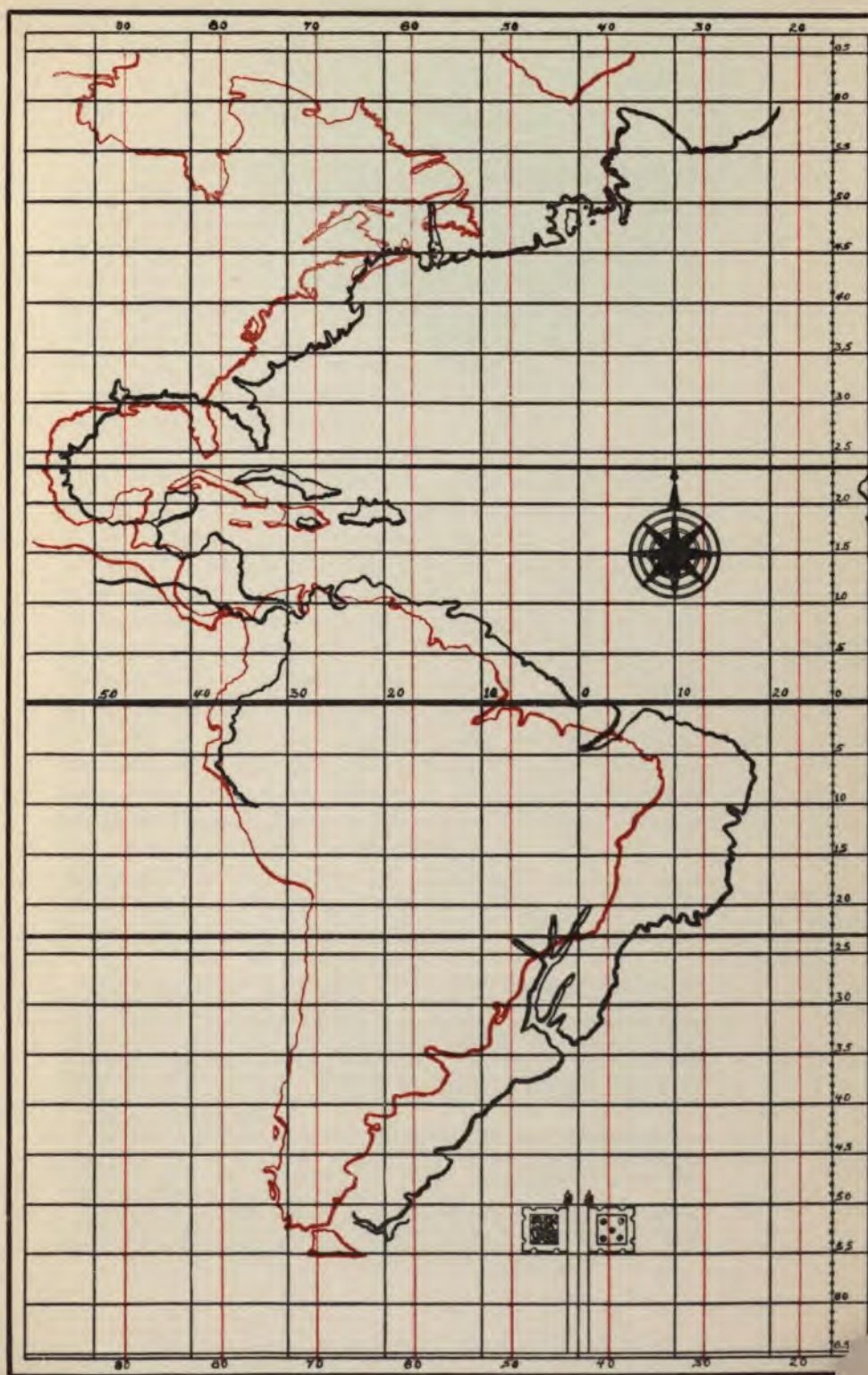


PLATE EXHIBITING THE ERRORS IN LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE OF THE WOLFENBÜ
MAP. THE CORRECT COAST LINE IN RED.



Most of the early explorers undertook to determine the exact location of their discoveries in latitude and longitude. In their written records, as we know, they very frequently designate in degrees the points touched, and these records, in so far as we can interpret their geographical reference and fix the location, often exhibit errors of the same character as do the extant maps. Columbus's reference to the location of Guanahani, the first reference to the latitude of a locality in America, places it nearly four degrees too far to the north, and his reference to the location of the island of Saona, which he determined by an eclipse of the moon, September 14/15, 1494, places it eighteen degrees too far to the east. These, however, exhibit what I may call some of the extremes of error in location.

According to Gomara "the Spanish commissioners and cosmographers," members of the junta of 1524, "expressed in their report to the Emperor the judgment that in future, on all Spanish maps, the line of demarcation should be indicated."⁵³ The Wolfenbüttel map lays down this line as determined by the Spanish members of the junta. This, it should be noted, is not the papal line of 1493.⁵⁴ Strange confusion has crept into many of our histories concerning this point. In the adjustment of international boundary questions between Spain and Portugal, the papal line does not enter after 1494; on the contrary it is the line as determined by the treaty of Tordesillas of that year which invariably is in question in all disputes involving claim to the newly found territories.⁵⁵ In the last four

Vide the interesting work by Gilbert: *The Loadstone and Magnetic Bodies*, first printed in 1600, re-issued in translation in 1893, especially Book IV on Variation. Bauer: *Principal Facts of the Earth's Magnetism*, especially pp. 1-56. There is much here which from an historical standpoint is especially interesting. Wolkenhauer: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Inaug. Diss. Universität, Göttingen, Munich. This is a very suggestive monograph. Kretschmer: *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* pp. 67 seq. with suggestive references.

⁵³ Gomara 1. c. Cap. 100.

⁵⁴ According to the Papal Bull of 1493 this line was to be drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azore Islands. The language of the Bull is so indefinite that disputes could easily arise, since the Azore Islands occupy, from extreme east to extreme west, more than six degrees of longitude.

The Bull may be found in Thacher: *Christopher Columbus*, Vol. II, pp. 93 seq.

⁵⁵ The legend extending across top and bottom of the Weimar-Ribero map states that it was drawn according to the capitulation of the treaty of Tordesillas 1494.

hundred years there have been numerous attempts to determine with scientific accuracy its longitude. Admitting all the difficulties of the problem, none, it seems to me, has reached a more satisfactory conclusion than has Dawson.⁶⁶ He does well to suggest that there are but two inquiries concerning its location which can yield any results of historical interest, the first raises the question as to its location on the modern map, and the second the question as to its supposed location by the Spanish and the Portuguese governments. If Dawson is near the truth in his conclusion that on the modern map it would coincide with the meridian of $45^{\circ} 40'$ then it would pass more than seven degrees seaward of Cape Race. On none of the early maps is it so drawn. On the contrary, as it appears on both Spanish and Portuguese maps it would more nearly coincide with the meridian of 60° . Its location therefore, as invariably laid down on Spanish as on Portuguese charts, deprived Spain of a considerable territory which by treaty actually belonged to her. The Wolfenbüttel map represents it as passing through Labrador and to the east of a large island which can be none other than Cape Breton Island, this island being here for the first time clearly and definitely indicated.

Beginning with the region called "TIERA DEL LABRADOR" which extends northward from latitude 60° , a continuous coast line is represented as far as 54° south latitude where the Strait of Magellan is correctly represented. There is nowhere along this coast north of latitude 54° the suggestion of a strait through which one might pass from "OCCEANUS OCCIDENTALIS" to "MAGNUS PELAGUS" and to "PROVINCIA DE MALVCA." The map was drawn about the time the theory of an Asiatic connection between the New World and Asia was receiving favorable consideration, and the idea of the existence of a strait was for the time, at least,

⁶⁶ *Vide* the excellent paper by S. E. Dawson: The Line of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI in A. D. 1493, and of the Treaty of Tordesillas in A. D. 1494, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series* Vol. V, pp. 467-546.

given over by the chart-makers.⁵⁷ There, however, is nothing to indicate that our chart-maker believed the New World he has sketched was a part of Asia.

A study of the geographical and historical records of the map may conveniently begin with this "TIERA DEL LABRADOR." It cannot be doubted that in this part of the map the author has intended to represent the country we now call Greenland, although it is made to extend nearly four degrees too far southward, and more than fifteen degrees too far eastward. Early descriptions assure us of the identity, as do the records of the earlier and the contemporary maps.

Following the records of the Cabots we learn that the coast of Labrador (Greenland) was visited by them in 1498, which coast they followed from about 67° 30' on the east, to about 63° on the west where, blocked by the ice, they turned their course westward, crossing Davis Strait.⁵⁸ Though we have earlier cartographical record that this country was discovered by the English, our map gives us the first definite information of the origin of the name. The Weimar Ribero makes record merely of the fact that "The

⁵⁷ The theory that the New World was a part of Asia was not generally held by the early explorers. Some of them expressed such belief but in doubtful terms. Columbus himself wrote particularly of islands discovered on his first voyage; in his second he compelled the officers of his vessel to swear, it appears against the conviction of some, that Cuba was a continent; in his third when he discovered the mainland near Paria, and beheld the mouth of the Orinoco, he expressed the conviction that the mighty river came not only from an immense region at the south but from one wholly unknown; in his fourth he made search for a strait through which he might pass to the waters of India, but failing in this his belief concerning an Asiatic connection, it appears, was confirmed.

For the earliest map indication of a belief in a land connection of America and Asia *vide* v. Wieser: *Die Karte des Bartolomeo Colombo über die vierte Reise des Admirals*, 1893. The Columbus maps here described were discovered by v. Wieser not long since, and were thought by him to have been copies of maps sent by Christopher Columbus from Jamaica in July 1503. It can not be said, however, that we have here a representation of the prevailing belief of the chart-makers of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About 1525 the idea of an Asiatic connection came into favor, perhaps through the influence of Cortes or of Peter Martyr, and the idea persists to a greater or less extent throughout the remaining years of the century.

Vide Harrisse *Discovery of North America* pp., 281-284.

⁵⁸ It seems to have been conclusively proven by H. P. Biggar, in his paper "The Voyages of the Cabots and of the Corte-Reals to North America and Greenland, 1497-1503" in *Revue Hispanique*, 1903, pp. 485-593, that in the Cabot voyage of 1498 the coast of Greenland was visited, though the contrary opinion has been generally held.

English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any value."⁵⁹ The Propaganda Ribero adds to the legend that "it was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol."⁶⁰ The Wolfenbüttel legend, more explicit, reads: "The land of Labrador which was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol and as he who first sighted it was a farmer from the Azore islands, this name remains attached to that country."⁶¹

The region in the interior is represented as mountainous, but along the coast, which is thickly dotted with islands, they may be icebergs, there does not appear a single name. Jean Alfonse, in writing of Norway and Labrador, says that they are one land and that "they are both mountainous regions in which live many kinds of wild beasts." He further states "that the coast of the mainland (Labrador) is not at present inhabited nor explored on account of the excessive cold and also of the long nights."⁶²

West of "TIERA DEL LABRADOR," and separated from it by a great gulf or bay is "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS." The bay can be none other than Davis Strait though there is scarcely the suggestion of an opening to the north. Along the coast appear names apparently given in part by the Cabots and in part by the Corte-Reals. Islands are numerous, two of which are particularly interesting in that they suggest, through their names, the date of their discovery. These are "S: Juhan", the 24th of June, and "S: p^o" (S: Pedro on the Reinel map) June 29th. A third, "y. de los bacallaos," bearing the same name as the country, and probably to be identified as the present Bacalieu Island, suggests the locality where the codfish were observed as particularly abundant. "Sebastian Cabot him selfe," says Peter Martyr, "named the landes Baccallaos, because that in the seas thereabout he founde so great multitudes of certeyne bigge fysshes much like unto tunies (which

⁵⁹ "Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses no ay en ella coas de prouecho."

⁶⁰ "—laqual descubrieron los Ingleses de la villa bristol—."

⁶¹ "La qual fue descubierta par los Yngleses de la uila de bristol e por q̄ el q̄ dio el lauiso della era labrador de las islas de los acares le quido este nombre."

⁶² Jean Fonteneau dit Jean Alfonse: *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord*. Publiée et annotée par Georges Musset, Paris, 1904, pp. 179-180.

thinhabitantes caule Bacallaos) that they sumtymes stayed his shippes."⁶³

In coast contour there is a striking resemblance of this region to that appearing on the earliest Portuguese maps, particularly on the Cantino and the Canerio, and there can scarcely exist a doubt that the author has borrowed from Portuguese sources. In that day, it appears that the discovery of this land was very generally attributed to the Portuguese, a fact which is attested by Spanish as well as by Portuguese maps. Cantino says of it: "This land was discovered by order of the Most High and Most Excellent King Dom Manuel, King of Portugal. It was discovered by Gaspar de Corte Real, a nobleman of the court of the said King, who when he had discovered it, sent (from there) a vessel with men and women of the said land. He remained with the other vessel, but he never returned, and the belief is that he was lost. Here is much mast timber."⁶⁴ The legend on the Wolfenbüttel map says that "The land was discovered by the Portuguese. There is not anything in it of profit except the cod which is very good fish. Here the Corte Reals were lost."⁶⁵

To identify the numerous bays and headlands here represented is a task which has often engaged students of the discoveries along our northeast coast. In many instances hasty conclusions have followed such investigations. It should always be remembered that these early maps record the first preliminary surveys and can not be counted on for accuracy in detail.

Seventeen names appear along the coast of this region, only one of which, "C: de s: palos," by which name probably C: de S: Pablo is meant, lies to the west of "C: Rasso" which marks a turning point in the coast line. This cape retains to the present the appearance, at least, of its early

⁶³ Martyr: *Decades*, III, vi, 119.

⁶⁴ "Esta terra he descoberta per mandado do muy alto excellentissimo sr. principe Rey dom manuell Rey de portuquall aqual descobrio gaspar de corte Real caualleiro na casa do dito Rey, oquall quã do a descobrio mandou hũ naujo com certos omes q molheres que achou na dita terra q elle ficou com outro naujo q nũca mais veo q croce que he perdido q aqui ha muitos mastos."

⁶⁵ "Esta tierra fue descubierta por los portogeses noayen ello cosa de provecho mas q los bacallaos q es pescado muy bueno. Aqui seper diero los corte reales."

name, after passing through a French transformation.⁶⁶

Its mountains, its forests, and its animals are represented in such character as to exhibit the prevailing opinion concerning the region.

Newfoundland is represented as a part of the mainland of Labrador, just as the author has joined the two early names in the legend "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS." We are able, it seems to me, to identify certain large indentations along the coast running to westward, as Placentia Bay and Cabot Strait or the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In this great gulf to the south of "BACALLAOS" a large island is represented. It is one of the most striking features of the map. To this island, lying between 46° and 49°, the name "y: de s: Juhan" has been given.⁶⁷ Although relatively too large, it can be identified as Cape Breton Island, unless we should make it also include Nova Scotia, a point suggested by the width of the strait on the west. We have further interesting reference to this island in the early accounts of the voyage of Gomez, to which reference is made below.

To the west and south of "TIERA NUEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS" lies "TIERA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ," a region which appears to extend from about 50° to 40° north latitude. A legend here reads "The land of Estevam Gomez which he discovered in the year 1525 by command of His Majesty. It is well suited to yield breadstuff and wine in great abundance."⁶⁸

Gomez was a Portuguese seaman who, after leaving his native country, was made pilot of the King of Spain in 1518, the same year in which Sebastian Cabot was made Pilot

⁶⁶ On the Ruyseh map of 1508 this is called C: de Portogesi. On the same map we find the name Gruenlant given to the Labrador of the earlier New World maps.

⁶⁷ It is probable that the landfall of John Cabot June 24, 1497, was on the coast of this island. The name suggests it.

⁶⁸ "TIERA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ laqual descubrio el año por mandado de su magestad esta tierra despuesta para dar pà ss venoe mûches abundancia."

The Weimar-Ribero legend reads: "The country of Estevam Gomez which he discovered by order of His Majesty. It contains numerous trees and fruits (like those) of Spain and much rodovallo (norwhale?), salmon, and soles. No gold has been found."

Major. In 1519-1520 he was with Magellan, commanding the *San Antonio*. On the eve of the success of that expedition in its search for a strait, he deserted Magellan and returned to Spain where he was held under suspicion until the arrival of the *Victoria* from its voyage around the world, when he again received favor of the King. Wishing to offset the results of the Magellan expedition and to make common endeavor with Ayllon and Cortes in search for a strait farther to the north, he received, in 1523, a commission and a grant of 750 ducats from the Emperor to undertake such search.⁶⁹ His departure was delayed until February 1525 by the Congress of Badajoz of which Congress he was a member.⁷⁰ Peter Martyr says he expected to find a passage to China "between Bacallaos and Florida."⁷¹ Gomara reports that "Gómez sailed along quite a large space of the country which had been navigated by no Spaniard before him," a statement which is confirmed by Herrera, who says that between Florida and Cape Breton "no Castilian vessel had sailed." So far then as we have knowledge, that section of the Atlantic coast was first officially visited by Estevam Gomez in the year 1525.⁷² Galvano says that he first went to the Island of Cuba, and that he then sailed northward. Oviedo's record in his *Sumario* is that he "went to the northern parts, where he discovered an extensive country which is continuous with that called Bacallaos, and con-

⁶⁹ The agreement includes the statement: "You propose to undertake the discovery of Eastern Cathay, concerning which you hold opinions and reports giving ground for making discoveries as far as our Molucca Islands." *Vide Documentos Ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XX, pp. 74-78.

⁷⁰ Herrera: *Decades*, III, lib. vi, cap. i.

⁷¹ For an account of the Gomez expedition *vide* Herrera: *Decades* II, lib. 3, cap. 7. Kohl: *Discovery of Maine*, pp. 271-281. Harisse: *The Discovery of North America*, pp. 229-243. Medina: *El portugues Esteban Gómez al servicio de España: estudio historico*, 1908. Santa Cruz: *Islario General del Mundo*.

⁷² That this coast had been visited before Gomez explored it, at least by clandestine expeditions, can no longer be doubted. The charts affirm it and their record can not well be considered mere conjecture. The land discovered by the Corte-Reals in the north was very early believed to be connected with the Antilles and the land discovered by Cabral. In a letter written October 18, 1501, by Pasqualigo to the Venetian Signory referring to discoveries in the north, the statement is made that "They believe that it is connected with the Antilles, which were discovered for the Spanish Realm, and with the land of the parrots recently found by the ships of (the King of Portugal) which were on their way to Calicut." Other reference of similar import could be cited.

tinuing westward he reached 40° and 41°, more or less."⁷³ Alonzo de Santa Cruz, in his *Islario General del Mundo* gives an account of the discoveries of Gomez rather more detailed, which, taken in connection with the Wolfenbüttel map, is especially interesting. He says: "Passing beyond the islands of the Eleven Thousand Virgins,"⁷⁴ toward the sea, there is a great bay called the Bay of the Britons because every year the Britons come to fish in that bay. . . . Passing the said bay more to the west and near a point of land called Cape Briton the (coast) begins to extend toward an island stretching eastward called Sanct Joan which is 56 leagues long by 20 leagues wide. This island, as certain pilots state, is not in that part of the sea but is within the bay which we call the Bay of the Britons, and in many sailing charts, when that land was first discovered, it was so represented, until Estevan Gomez brought that information which differed in some respects from the opinion entertained concerning the position assigned to the island within the bay. He said that it was joined to the land where it now is. The statement should not be contradicted except where Estevan Gomez says that in passing he saw much smoke and signs that it was inhabited. There is between the island and the mainland a passage called the Canal of Saint Julian from five to six leagues wide. It is said to be of good appearance with many trees, and rivers which empty into the sea. There are around many islands uninhabited. It extends from 46° to 48°. The longest day is fifteen hours and two-thirds."⁷⁵

From "Tierra de los bretones," which is the first name on the west coast of the great gulf above mentioned, to "C: de arenas," the sand cape, which is about the latitude reached by Gomez, nineteen names are inscribed, and with some degree of certainty one is able to identify a few of

⁷³ Most interesting charts, supposed to have been based upon the Gomez expedition, appear in the "Islario" of Santa Cruz. Vide *Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz Cosmografo mayor des Kaisers Karl V, mit dem Spanischen original-texte und einer kritischen Einleitung*, von Franz R. v. Wieser, 1908, plates I-IV.

⁷⁴ The name "onze mil virgines" appears on the Maiollo map of 1527, in the region here under consideration, also on plate II of The Wieser "Islario."

⁷⁵ Vide Harrissee I. c. pp. 237-238.

the localities. For the greater part of the distance, between the two points named, the trend of the coast is almost directly east and west, which fact may be easily accounted for if the coast were laid down from compass bearings, the declination of the needle not being taken into account.

One of the most conspicuous indentations along this coast is named "R: de s: Maria," called Rio de las Gamas on the Santa Cruz map of 1542, and Rio Grande on certain others. It seems to represent the Penobscot bay filled with islands. The cape to the west is called "C: de muchas yslas."

There is a large element of conjecture in the results of every attempt to identify places along this coast until we reach "R: de s: antonio" where we probably have come upon a recognizable locality. It will be noted that it bears the name of the vessel which Gomez commanded on the Magellan expedition. In a description of the Atlantic coast, the best of that early day which has come down to us, and which appears to have been taken from the official map of Alonso Chaves, now lost, Oviedo says that "the Rio de san Antonio is in 40° north latitude. The river stands to the coast in a line directly from north to south. Although the coast runs north to the mouth of this river, it then begins to trend to the northeast, and a quarter east, for more than forty leagues."⁷⁶ Gomara emphasizes the importance of the river by giving to one of his chapters the title "Del Descubrimiento del Rio de San Antonio." One is led by such references as these and by the location of the river on the maps to think the "R: de s. Antonio" none other than the Hudson. Accepting the latitude, as given by Oviedo, as the one reached by Gomez, we are brought into the vicinity of Delaware Bay and Cape Henlopen for the terminus of his discoveries, or as appears on the map to "C: de arenas."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Vide Oviedo: *Historia General de las Indias*, chaps. ix-xi, bk. XXI for the description of the Atlantic coast of North America. This description, as Kohl well says "is the fullest and best Spanish report on our coast of the sixteenth century. Oviedo is one of the foremost authorities on early Spanish America. An English translation of his work would be well received.

⁷⁷ A Weimar-Ribero legend well to the west of the Atlantic coast reads: "All along this northern coast the Indians are of larger stature than those of Santo Domingo and of the other islands. They eat maize and fish, which they have in great abundance, and they hunt much game and other animals and they wear the skins of wolves and foxes."

To the south of "TIERA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ" lies "TIERA DEL LICENCIADO AYLLON."⁷⁸ The name somewhat altered in form has place for many years on the maps. It does not appear from the written record that a very extensive section of the coast was explored by Ayllon nor do the maps tell us anything to the contrary. The results of the expedition, so far as we know them, being of such comparative insignificance, it is remarkable that it should have been thought fitting to give his name to a section of the Spanish country.⁷⁹ His discoveries, however, belong to a period in which renewed effort was being made to find a strait along the Atlantic coast of North America and to explore a region claimed by Spain but not yet officially entered. Because of this, if for none other, they would be given prominence. Into the perplexing problems touching the purpose, the course sailed, the landfalls of the three expeditions which have been attributed to him between 1520 and 1526 it is not essential here to enter.⁸⁰ In the first of these expeditions, made in 1521, it appears that the landfall was in latitude 33° 30' at the mouth of a large river. Ouexos who commanded one of the vessels, having joined the expedition on its course through the Bahama Islands, testifies that but one point was visited, to which they gave the name St. John the Baptist. Two names appear on our map, for each of which argument has been advanced that it marks the landfall. "C: de s. elena," according to Herrera was the point first sighted,

⁷⁸ Ayllon came to Hispaniola with Ovando. He became one of the auditors of that island, and acquired considerable wealth. Having associated with himself Diego Caballero, and securing a license for his undertaking, he sailed from the port of La Plata in a caravel under command of Gordillo with directions to proceed northward until the continent was reached.

⁷⁹ The Weimar-Spanish map of 1527 simply refers to the discovery in the brief legend: "tierra del licenciado ayllon." The Weimar-Ribero legend records this as "The country of Ayllon which he discovered and returned to settle, as it is well suited to yield breadstuff, wine and all things of Spain. He died here of disease."

⁸⁰ *Vide* the account of the Ayllon expeditions in Lawrey: *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 153-171; also in Appendix H, a critical consideration of the last voyage. Harrisse l. c. pp. 198-213. Ayllon's first voyage with a consideration of the question of the landfall. Kohl: *History of the Discovery of Maine*, pp. 394-401 with references to many Spanish sources, though the accounts are brief. Shea: *Ancient Florida* (in Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II, pp. 238-241). Navarrete: *Coleccion*, Vol. III, p. 153, contains the capitulation with Ayllon, and places the country in 35°, 36°, and 37° "norte-sur." The documents of the first voyage say 33° 30'.



SECTION OF THE WEIMAR-RIBERO MAP, 1629, CORRESPONDING TO THE WOLFENBÜTTEL MAP. GREATLY REDUCED.



and Oviedo in his description of this coast says it is in latitude 33°. "R: Jordam," very generally accepted as indicating the locality of the landfall, but on doubtful evidence, is the second name. This point can not be far from Charleston Harbor, perhaps is the present Port Royal Entrance. In the subsequent expeditions of 1525 and 1526 it appears that the coast was ranged as far north as 38°, and that the majority of the names which are given on our map are to be attributed to these voyages. Oviedo says that Ayllon discovered the coast as far north as "C: trafalgar," perhaps Cape Hatteras. "All this country was discovered by Ayllon" he says after his reference to Trafalgar Cape.

No very special significance is made to attach to the Florida peninsula in the Sevillian cartography of this period. The name "R: Florido," it is true, appears on our map but it is not especially conspicuous. On the Weimar-Spanish map La Florida is given, as it is on the Propaganda-Ribero. It is an interesting fact that all maps before those of the Sevillian type to which I have referred, represent this peninsula as located too far to the north. Its southern point on the chart of Canerio is in latitude 35° according to its own scale.⁸¹ The Munich-Portuguese map locates this point in latitude 34°. ⁸² The question therefore is raised whether the coast of this country was not visited and charted sometime before its discovery by Ponce de Leon in 1512,⁸³ and whether the charts which make record of his discovery are not to be met with, for the first, in the Sevillian maps, all contemporary maps recording his discoveries being lost. The significance of the Ponce de Leon discoveries has been much overestimated. Though the date usually given for his first expedition is 1513, he had been commissioned "to go and settle the island of Beniny and the island of Florida" in September 1512, which

⁸¹ *Vide* Stevenson: *The Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis 1502* (circa), a critical study with fac-simile, issued under the auspices of the American Geographical Society and Hispanic Society of America, 1908.

⁸² *Vide* Stevenson: *Maps*, No. 5.

⁸³ Lowrey l. c. pp. 123-134, gives some consideration to the question of probable early visits to the coast of Florida with numerous references.

commission necessarily implies an earlier discovery by him, since there is here a reference to Florida.⁸⁴ He, however, made little of his office of Adalantado and his son who succeeded him after 1521 apparently thought still less of the new region.⁸⁵ Not until after the exploration of de Soto in 1538 do we find the name Florida coming into prominence. On many maps after this date the name is applied to the entire Atlantic coast region as far north as the French claims. The "isla florida" of the Turin-Spanish map is unquestionably a reference to the Ponce de Leon discoveries, but no other name is given on that map in the region so designated.

It is not possible, with certainty, to locate either his landfall of 1512 or of 1521. He appears to have ranged the coast in his first expedition from about latitude 30° on the east to 28° on the west, and on his second visit to have confined his exploration to the west coast. Between the extreme points mentioned for the first voyage twelve names are recorded on our map, some of which are clearly to be attributed to Ponce de Leon. "R: Florido" suggests his landing place, on the east coast, which is located in latitude 29°. Passing southward, he doubled Cape Canaveral which he called "C: Corientes," discovering and naming the "Martires," thence passing up the coast he anchored in a bay which perhaps is the bay long retaining the name here given "b: de Juhan Ponce."⁸⁶ His second voyage, not until 1521, is reported to have been undertaken for the purpose of planting a colony and of ascertaining whether this new country was actually an island

⁸⁴ There appears to be some confusion about the date. 1512 seems to be the more probable. The commission tells of "The agreement which was entered into by our command with you, Juan Ponce de Leon, to go to settle the Island of Beniny and the Island of Florida which you discovered by our command" and it is dated "Valladolid the twenty-sixth day of September of the year one thousand five hundred and twelve." *Vide* Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos de Indias Vol. XXII, pp. 32, 33.

Herrera: Decades I, gives a very detailed narrative of Ponce de Leon's first voyage.

⁸⁵ In 1521 Ponce de Leon undertook anew to determine whether Florida was an island, and also to plant a colony. His letter to the Emperor Charles V is quoted in translation in Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II, p. 234. The explorer died from wounds received on this expedition.

⁸⁶ Lowrey 1. c. Vol. I, Appendix D, on "The Bay of Juan Ponce" quotes various maps and written documents touching the location of the bay and the landing place of Ponce de Leon.

or was joined to the main land which had been visited by Pineda and Cortes. There is no reliable record telling just how far northward he sailed. Navarrete reproduces, in his *Coleccion* a small map which, near latitude 28° according to the Sevillian cartography, has the inscription, "Hasta aqui descubrio Juan Ponce."⁸⁷ The Turin-Spanish map, as above stated, calls this peninsula "isla florida" but doubt clearly existed in the mind of the map-maker as to its being an island, the coast on the north not being drawn, while it omits the gulf coast as far as "Rio del Spū sto." The Weimar-Spanish map makes interesting reference to the discovery of this coast by Garay in the legend "deinde aqui descubrio F. de Garay," which, slightly altered in form and reading: "dende aquy commenzo a descubrir Francesco Garay" appears on the Navarrete map near the legend referring to Ponce de Leon.

When in 1519 Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, sent out his expedition of four ships under command of Don Alvarez Pineda it was to seek for a western passage to the ocean in which were the Molucca Islands.⁸⁸ This passage, perchance, lay beyond the point on the west coast reached by Ponce de Leon in his first expedition, though perhaps in its vicinity. To the legends referring to his expedition both in the Navarrete maps and in the Weimar-Spanish map reference has already been made. It appears that the discoveries of Pineda began at a point marked on our map as "R de s: Juhan" near the present Appalache Bay. Here then, we may say, begins "TIERA DE GARAY."⁸⁹ For four or five months this fleet under command of Pineda, followed the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico carefully noting the configuration of the land, the harbors, the rivers, the Indian villages and other objects of interest. Late in August "Panuco" was reached where the fleet fell in with the expedition sent out by Cortes, and it was therefore

⁸⁷ Vide Navarrete: *Coleccion*, III, 148, for a tracing of the map.

⁸⁸ Vide *Documentos Ineditos* Vol. II, pp. 558-567; also Navarrete 1. c. Vol. III, pp. 147-153.

⁸⁹ The Weimar-Ribero legend reads:—"All along this coast and that of the Licentiate Ayllon, and the land of Estevam Gomes, there is no hope of finding gold as in New Spain since it is too far away from the tropics."

prevented from further advance.⁹⁰ Whether Pineda retraced his outward course as he journeyed homeward we can not be certain. It has generally been assumed that it was on this return voyage the "R: del Spū sto" (Rio del Espiritu Santo) was discovered and named. Of the exact date of the naming, doubt exists; that the Mississippi river is meant is, however, reasonably certain.⁹¹ Between the "R: de nieves" and "Panuco" which places mark the limits of the Garay expedition, there are twenty-five names inscribed, many, if not most of them, owe their origin to this expedition. The configuration of this coast in the Sevillian chartography must rest upon the records of the charts which, according to the rules of the Casa de la Contratacion were turned over to the hydrographic office in Seville by the explorers themselves, and there are none others to which we find allusion than those prepared at the time of the Pineda discoveries.

The location of the legend, "TIERA DE PANFILO DE NARBAES" on the Wolfenbüttel map suggests that it was drawn as early as 1527. The Spanish conquistador here referred to, at the instance of Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, had undertaken in 1520 to capture Cortes and his companions, but became himself a captive of that most daring adventurer, though he was released within a short time. Having some acquaintance with the Mexican coast, gained through his early experience Narbaez, received from the Emperor in 1527 the authority to conquer and govern, with the usual concessions, the country from "R: de palmas" to the Cape of Florida.⁹²

A map of date so early as the Wolfenbüttel could make no detailed record of the Narbaez expedition which set out in 1527 and none of the names along the coast can be attributed to him. The legend above given is so placed as to suggest a knowledge on the part of the map-maker of

⁹⁰ Oviedo l. c. Vol. II, p. 142.

⁹¹ The charts of the century are a sufficient answer to the argument which has been recently advanced in opposition to the statement that "Rio del Espiritu Santo" is the Mississippi.

⁹² Vide Buckingham Smith: *North America MSS.*, 1500-1580, p. 91, for the request and the grant.

a purpose of Narbaez to begin his conquest at "R: de palmas" or at some point near it, that is, in the region earlier visited by him. There is nothing to suggest a further acquaintance with his plans.⁹³

No geographical boundary lines mark the extent of the regions to which names have been given on these early charts. In most instances it was but a general notion concerning territorial limits which existed in the minds of the chart-makers. The course followed, and the extent of the most important explorations along the coasts, so far as we have knowledge of them, are the chief factors which determine the boundaries as they are set down in this study, though convenience in presentation has sometimes suggested the regional limits.

If "NUEVA ESPANA" may here be made to include the region from "Panuco," north of which point it does not appear that Cortes extended his expedition, to "Darien," it would embrace a considerable part of the west gulf coast, especially the Gulf of Campeche, also Yucatan, Honduras, and Central America. The legend, liberally translated, tells that "it was called this because all things brought from Spain can be produced here, and wheat is harvested in great abundance."⁹⁴ If any part of the coast from "Panuco" to "Cotoch" (C. Catoche) on the northeast coast of Yucatan was visited before 1517 there seems to be no authentic record of it. In February 1517 Diego Velasquez, then governor of Cuba, sent out Hernandez de Cordoba with three ships to explore the region to the west. His pilot, Anton Aliminos, had been with Columbus on his fourth voyage when he touched a point on the north coast of Honduras to which he gave the name Cabo de Casinas, a

⁹³ To the northwest of Florida on the Weimar-Spanish map of 1527 is the legend, "Tierra que aora va apoblar panfilo de narbaez"—"Land which Nanfilo Narbaez is going to colonise." Knowing that Narbaez sailed in June 1527 Kohl thinks this map must have been drawn about that time. It is therefore the oldest extant map, that is at all reliable, showing the east coast of the United States, unless the Salvati may (undated) should be accepted as such.

⁹⁴ "Dixo se asi por q se dan sscriantodas las cosas q lleuan de spaña y se cose yatrigo en mucha abundacia."

Ribero writes:—"NEW SPAIN, so called, because it contains many things which are found in Spain. Much wheat was transported thence and in such quantities that it could be re-shipped to other parts. There is here much native gold."

name changed by Solis and Pinzon to Cabo de Fonderas and given on our map as "C: de honduras." Thence Columbus sailed eastward. Aliminos gave counsel that Cordoba on his expedition of 1517 should explore the region northward or westward of the point touched by Columbus, which counsel being followed, land was first sighted on the northeast coast of Yucatan.⁶⁵ This the natives called Conex Catoche or "Cotoch." Westward coasting brought them to "de larazo" (S. Laarzo, now Campeche) from which point, after an encounter with the natives, the course was turned homeward. On the way thither they entered "R: de largatos" where they burned one of their ships.

In April 1518 Juan de Grijalva started with four vessels on an exploring expedition to this western region. Landing first at the island of "cocumel" he followed the coast as far as "Panuco," or near it, and in the autumn returned to Cuba. There is good reason for thinking that most of the names appearing along this part of the coast, on maps before 1530, were given during the expedition of Grijalva, and that they were laid down on maps which were the work of Aliminos who had served as pilot for Cordoba, in which capacity he also served for the expedition of Cortes in 1519. None of these maps is extant.⁶⁶ Among the interesting names appearing on our map are "p: descado," where Grijalva anchored, a name not given on the other Sevillian maps referred to. This was first thought to be a harbor, but on further investigation Aliminos gave it as his opinion that it was a strait and that Santa Maria de los Remedios,⁶⁷ that is Yucatan,⁶⁸ was an island, "and it was so laid down on the maps thereafter," says Diaz.⁶⁹ Herein we have the explanation of the insular character of

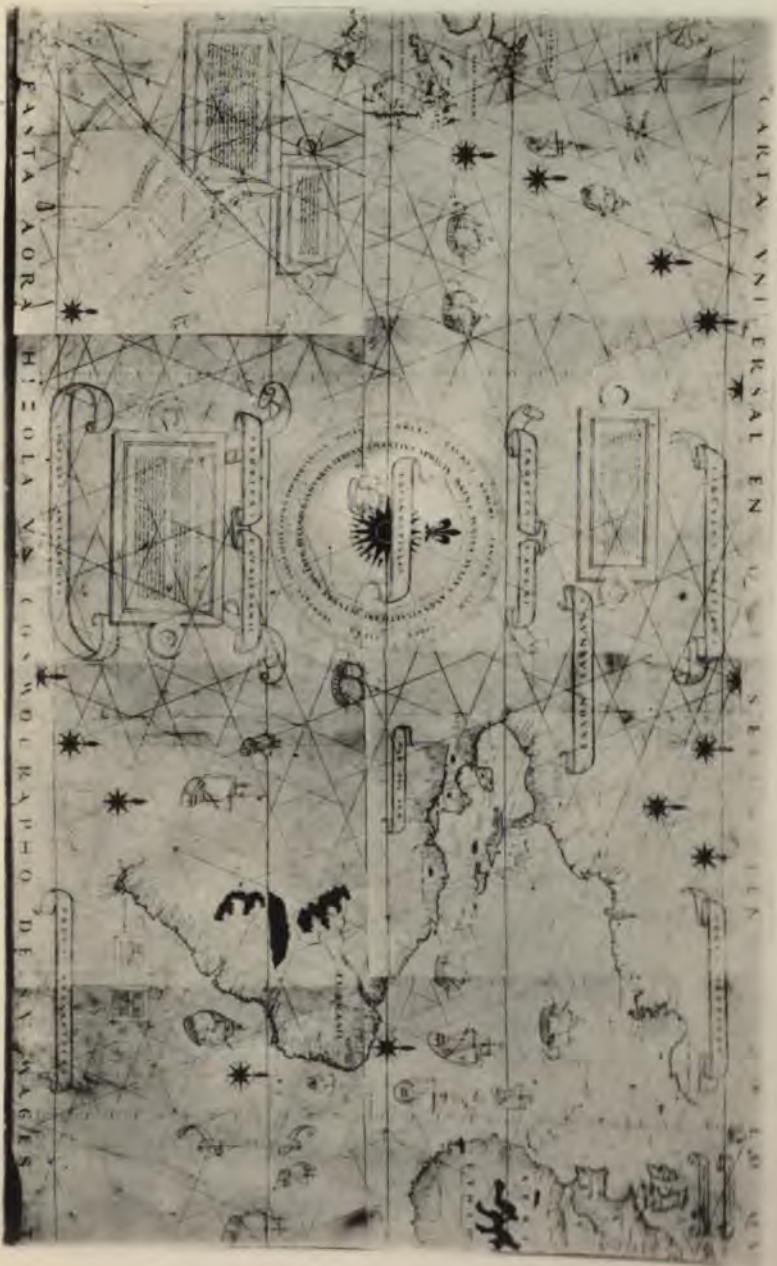
⁶⁵ Vide Las Casas: Historia, IV, p. 350. Bernal Diaz: Historia Verdadera, chap. ii, iii.

⁶⁶ It is interesting here to compare the Munich-Portuguese map of 1519 (circa), with the Wolfenbüttel. The names do not agree, but as much of the coast is laid down on the former, which is a Portuguese map, as was visited by Cordoba.

⁶⁷ This name was given by Grijalva.

⁶⁸ It appears that the Spaniards of the Cordoba expedition did not understand the native word "tectetan," meaning "I do not understand." Thinking this to be the name of the region they fashioned the word into Yucatan. Vide Egli: *Nomina Geographica*, "Yucatan."

⁶⁹ Diaz: Historia Verdadera, cap. x.



SECTION OF THE WEIMAR-SPANISH MAP, 1527, CORRESPONDING TO THE WOLFENBÜTTEL MAP. GREATLY REDUCED.

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Yucatan as it appears on all early Sevillian maps, and on others which doubtless are derivatives. "Rio de grijalva," "y: de sacrificios,"¹⁰⁰ and "S: y: de olua" are among the other important names given by the Grijalva expedition. It is interesting to note that the last name mentioned should doubtless read San Juan de Ulua, Grijalva believing the land named to be an island, and he affixed the name de Ulua¹⁰¹ to distinguish it from San Juan de Puerto Rico. That the name as given on the Wolfenbüttel map is that of an island suggests an early date for the map or for the sources used. The Weimar-Ribero map of 1529 gives R: de S: Juan, and we know that the name first given by Grijalva to an island in this locality was later given to the harbor or strait lying between the island and the mainland.

When Cortes sailed in 1519 to this western region he was instructed to lay down on his map all that he found here, and in his report he should give the names of every port or harbor and watering place.¹⁰² Whatever names he may have given, there is none which has been more historically important than the name "Villa Rica," marking a point near which Cortes landed with his troops after he had resigned the commission which had been given him by Velasquez, and where he established his first municipal government. He designated the spot Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz,¹⁰³ which is not far distant from the location of the present Vera Cruz.

The coast eastward of Yucatan to "Darien" was visited many times, in the early years of the sixteenth century by Spanish expeditions, and it must have been repeatedly charted. It seems probable that Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1501, starting near "Gulfo de Paria" reached a point to the west of the Gulf of Darien, perhaps the port later called by Columbus, Retrete, and was thus the first to enter

¹⁰⁰ It seems that it was on this island where Grijalva first saw evidences of the native practices in offering human sacrifices.

¹⁰¹ Ulua or Culua was a native word which the Spaniards thought to refer to the residence of the native ruler, hence an important place.

¹⁰² Documentos Ineditos, I, p. 394.

¹⁰³ Prescott: Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 345 refers to the changes in name in location.

the region from the east.¹⁰⁴ In the following year, that is 1502, when on his fourth voyage to the New World, Columbus left the coast of Cuba, July 24, sailing southwest he touched the north shore of Honduras at "c. de honduras."¹⁰⁵ Thence directing his course eastward he passed the headland marking the turn on the coast to southward to which he gave the name "C: de gracias a dios."¹⁰⁶ At "cargay" (Cariay) he repaired his vessels. On reaching "cerabaro" (Carambaru) he learned from the natives that he was on the border of a rich gold bearing country, and he made effort to ascertain the facts. Some weeks later, and for a considerable time he found himself compelled to remain within the mouth of the river "bela" (Belem)¹⁰⁷ because of storms, and while here he undertook, though unsuccessfully to plant a colony. At "Varaga" (Veragua) he had further word from the natives concerning the gold mines of the country. This name, as we know, in time became that of a province, and furnished a title name for the family of Columbus.¹⁰⁸ His explorations could not have extended much beyond "Retrete." Concerning his discoveries along this coast he says in his report that he had with him sea charts which made it apparent that the Honduras coast, he had discovered, was connected with the Pearl coast which he had visited on his third voyage. These charts are not now known but they must have found their way to Seville and have served as the foundation of such maps as the Wolfenbüttel.

In 1508 Diego de Nicuessa was commissioned to conquer and settle the entire coast from "C: de gracias a dios" to the Gulf of Darien. To this region which he visited

¹⁰⁴ Vide HARRISE 1. c. p. 684 containing a brief statement with references.

¹⁰⁵ Original Narratives of early American History ed. by Jameson Vol. I, pp. 389-418 Columbus' Letter on the Fourth Voyage.

¹⁰⁶ This point was reached by Columbus September 12, 1502, after long contending against storm and ocean currents. The southward trend of the coast seemed to him to give promise that the sought for strait would soon be found. The name is retained to the present day.

¹⁰⁷ Columbus gave the name "Belem" in honor of the coming of the Three Kings to Bethlehem. He entered the harbor January 6, 1503.

¹⁰⁸ September 28, 1556, Philip II issued a decree at Ghent giving to Luis, grandson of Christopher Columbus, the title Admiral of the Indies and Duke of Veragua with an income of 7,000 ducats.

the name Castilla del Oro was given which name in 1513 was transferred to the coast land east of the Gulf replacing here the name Nueva Andalusia which had been given in 1508. The name "acla" (Acia), marking the port where Balboa in 1516 had constructed his vessels which were carried piece by piece to the Pacific coast, and "nobre de dia" (Nombre de Dios)¹⁰⁹ are names which yet appear on the maps.

The name "CASTELLA DEL ORO"¹¹⁰ on our map, seeming to mark the country included between "Darien" and the "Golfo de Paria"¹¹¹ is one long retained on Spanish maps. Between the points designated, thirty-five coast names appear, some of which names can not now be read. It is reasonably certain that Columbus was the first to sight any part of this north coast, when in August 1498 he made a landing near the island "la trinidad." His chart of the region seems to have been in the hands of most of his successors.¹¹² Before two years had passed, the entire coast here included was visited and charted by such expeditions as that of Alonso de Hojeda, Juan de la Cosa, and Vespucci in 1499,¹¹³ of Pinzon and De Lepe in 1500,¹¹⁴ and of Rodrigo de Bastedas in 1500.¹¹⁵ From the last given date until the time of the construction of our map there were numerous explorations of this north coast of South America, though most of the names given are traceable to the earlier voyages.

A very striking and interesting feature of the Wolfenbüttel map is its representation of Lake Maracaybo. Though a gulf is properly located at this point on the coast on earlier

¹⁰⁹ Marks the site of a settlement made by Nicuesa in 1510.

¹¹⁰ In a royal decree of 1513 the name Castilla del Oro was given to the region over which Pedrarias d'Avila was appointed Governor. This was to include the region assigned to Alonso de Hojeda in 1508, that is from Cabo de la Vela to the Gulf of Darien, to which the name Nueva Andalusia had been given, together with the lands of the isthmus. The governor of this territory soon extended his authority to the South Sea Coast and in 1518 the official residence was established at Panama.

¹¹¹ This was the region visited by Columbus on his third voyage.

¹¹² Navarrete: Coleccion, Vol. III, pp. 539, 587.

¹¹³ Touching the coast of Paria they followed it as far as "quaquibacoa" (Coquibacoa).

¹¹⁴ From Paria to a point south of "C: de S: agostinho".

¹¹⁵ From Cumana, near the "Golfo of Paria" to a point west of "darien."

as well as on contemporary maps, none of them give us anything like a representation so nearly accurate as we here find of the Lake. The name "Golfo de Venezuela," the last part of the name as here given being somewhat indistinct, does not appear on any of the other Sevillian maps referred to. Across the lake itself is the explanatory name "anaguada" designating a flooded or swampy region, and extending from the lake westward is the name "estrecho . . . de lago venezuela. The brief legend below "CASTILLA DEL ORO" reads "Esta es lagouer nacioñ de la grañ a fa fz aoble compania de los bel zeres."¹¹⁶

Along the stretch of coast between "Golfo de Paria" and the turn to southward of the coast line marked "C: de S: Roque" forty-five names appear. This coast was first visited in 1499 by the Hojeda expedition referred to above. There are many extant maps drawn before the Wolfenbüttel map, on which it is sketched, of which the one drawn by Juan de la Cosa in 1500 is the oldest known. The maps of Cantino and of Canerio, which follow within three years give a much better presentation. Very many of the names are merely descriptive, to which no special historical significance seems to attach, as "R: Salado," "R: dulce" which is probably the mouth of the Orinoco, "arboledas," "Aldea," with other names of similar character.

The "RIO DE MARANOM" is especially prominent, with a descriptive legend which reads "The river Maranom which the knight diego dordaz is going to settle: this river is very large and extends twenty leagues into the sea and here it is said they get fresh water."¹¹⁷ It was

¹¹⁶ Ribero's legend reads:—"THE GOLDEN CASTILLE so called because here much gold is found. The Indians are more warlike than are those of Santo Domingo and of other parts because they use poisoned arrows. Here there is a village called St. Martha, where large quantities of gold are found in the earth. Here the Germans have their territory from the Cape de la Vela to Cumana, from 140 to 180 leagues."

¹¹⁷ "RIO DE MARANOM aqui vs aora apoblar ei comendador diego dordaz: este Rio es muy caudalosa por quo astando 20 leguas enla mardis que toman aqua dulce."

The Ribero legends reads:—"All along this coast from the river (of) sweet (water) to the Cape of San Roque nothing of any value has been found. This coast was explored once or twice since the discovery of the Indies but since then no one has returned thither. The River Marañon is very large and ships enter it for sweet water and twenty leagues in the sea they take fresh water."

Vicente Yanez Pinzon who, in January 1500, first entered the mouth of this river, and his report says he explored it for a distance of thirty or forty leagues. He called it the Great Stream of Paricura, as he had learned from the natives that the north bank of the river was called Paricura, or "costa de paricura." On this expedition he had first sighted land near the northeast angle of South America to which he gave the name Rostro Hermoso, a point which has sometimes been identified as "C: de S: Roque," though there exists reason for thinking it was farther to the west, perhaps the headland on the northwest shore of "baya hermosa." The earliest positive information we have of "C: de S: Roque" we get from a report of the expedition of three ships which were sent out by the Portuguese King in 1501 for the purpose of following up the discoveries of Cabral of the preceding year, which expedition we find recorded as the third of Amerigo Vespucci. It appears from the Saint's name given that the discovery was made August 16th.

The name "EL BRASIL"¹¹⁸ is inscribed on our map as if the intention were to make it include the entire section of the continent east of the Line of Demarcation, that is Portuguese South America, just as "MVNDVS NOVVS"¹¹⁹ appears to be the name given to the entire continent. Brazil is an early name doubtless suggested by the discovery of the red dyewood and has no connection with the Atlantic island variously placed in the Atlantic Ocean on early maps.¹²⁰ It was first applied somewhat indefinitely to the new land discovered in the south and was employed very much as the name Papagalli, Isla de la Vera Cruz, Terra Sanctae Crucis, and even America itself. The name was long given to at least as much of the coast as was included between the extreme eastern angle of South Amer-

¹¹⁸ Ribero says: "The land of Brazil. Here there is nothing of value except the brazil (wood) which costs nothing except the cutting and carrying to the ships which the Indians do for very little. They eat the flesh of their enemies. Here the King of Portugal has at Pernambuco a factory where there is a large quantity of brazil (wood) collected for shipping on board vessels which come for that purpose."

¹¹⁹ Vide Bourne; Spain in America, chap. viii, on "Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America."

¹²⁰ Vide Scaife; America, Its Geographical History.

ica, that is "C: de S: Roque" and the mouth of the La Plata, that is "terra de Jo. de Solis." It was doubtless Cabral who first sighted the east coast south of "C: de S: augustinho," and the account of his expedition of 1500 says it was at a point called by him, "monte pasual" (Monte Pascual) thus honoring the festival near which the discovery was made. Thence he sailed ten leagues northward as far as Puerto Seguro, says Ramusio,¹²¹ from which point he departed on his voyage to the East Indies. This Puerto Seguro must have been near the locality where we find "R: de S: Jorge."

Between "C: de S: Roque" and the "RIO DE PARANA" thirty-five names appear, which with but few exceptions must have been given before 1517. The evidence is most convincing that Vespucci during his third voyage of 1501, as he designated it, was the first to explore the coast south of "monte pasual," and that he reached that most southern point which we find designated on the Canerio chart as Rio de Cananor but given on the Wolfenbüttel as "R: de la cananea," and yet appearing on the modern map as Cananea. Considerable interest centers in many of the names here given. From the many saints names which are recorded and from the order in which they are given we have the suggestion that they mark the progress of some one of the early expeditions.¹²² From the north, southward we find among other names "C: de S: Roque" (August 16th), "C: de S: augustinho" (August 28th), "S: hieronimus" (September 30th), "Baya de todos Santos" (November 1st), "Sierra de S: lucia" (December 13th), "Po de S: Sebastian" (January 20th). "C: frio" marks a sharp turn in the east coast of Brazil. It must have early attracted the attention of explorers by reason of its prominence, as it appears on the earliest map, and is yet retained as Cabo Frio. "R: de la India" Kohl thinks represents the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, and he notes that the name Janeiro does not appear on any of the early maps,

¹²¹ Ramusio: *Navigazioni*, Vol. I.

¹²² *Vide* Stevenson: *Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis*, section on "South Continental Region-South America."

while Humboldt thinks the name could not have been given before 1531.¹²³ Southy says that it was given as early as 1516.¹²⁴ There is no record by which to determine with exactness, this point, yet it is an interesting fact that it appears for the first time on the Wolfenbüttel map and in the form "R: de Janeyrio."¹²⁵

That this coast was visited many times during the first quarter of the century is very certain. To but one or two of these visits can allusion here be made.

It seems probable that Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez Pinzon in the expedition of 1508-1509 passed well to the south along this newly found land, though to what point can not be determined.¹²⁶ In Solis' second expedition of 1515-1516 he left Spain with a commission to circumnavigate South America and reach the west coast of Castella del Oro.¹²⁷ Touching first the Brazilian coast in the vicinity of "C: de S: Roque" he followed it to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata which he entered. To the cape on the north shore he gave the name "C: de S: Ma" (Santa Maria). The name "terra de Jo de Solis," here given in his honor, marks the present Uruguay, which last name we also find appearing as "huruay," and designating a river, on the Wolfenbüttel map.

It was but a short time after the second expedition of Solis, which ended in his death at the hands of the natives, that the Maiollo map was draughted including the South American coast from Honduras to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. It is a chart of much significance by reason of its date, 1519, by reason of the many names given, and by reason of its coast configuration which is made to terminate at the south with the "C: de Maria" of Solis.¹²⁸ Only on the Wolfenbüttel map and on those signed by Ribero do the two islands appear at the mouth of the Rio de la

¹²³ Ghillany: Der Ritter Martin Behaim, Vorrede.

¹²⁴ Southy: History of Brazil, Vol. I, p. 33.

¹²⁵ Varnhagen: Historia geral do Brazil, Vol. I, p. 19 thinks the name indicates a discovery in January.

¹²⁶ Documentos Ineditos de Indias XXII, 5-13.

¹²⁷ Herrera: Decades, II, ii.

¹²⁸ Stevenson: Maps No. 4.

Plata, islands which have disappeared if they ever existed. "ysa: de Roderigo alvarez" honors the name of a pilot who accompanied the expedition of Sebastian Cabot on his voyage of 1526,¹²⁹ and "y: de Xpont Jaques"¹³⁰ does honor to a Portuguese explorer who, in 1526, sailed along the east coast of South America with a fleet of six ships.

"EL GRAM RIO DE PARANA" is given special prominence, having an accompanying legend which briefly touches the important historical incident of Solis' visit and death, the visit of Sebastian Cabot, and makes brief reference to the geographical significance of the region. This legend reads: "The mouth of this river Juhan de Solis discovered in 1515 and here the Indians killed him. And afterwards Sebastian Cabot entered here and he has been here more than two years. They went up the river to Riva about two hundred leagues. The river is 5, 6, 7, and 8 leagues wide and has many different kinds of fish. Those who came (here) say there is much gold....."¹³¹

Here but few names are inscribed.

"TIERRA DE PATAGONES" is made to include practically the entire southern extremity of "M V N D V S N O V V S," the east coast of which had been visited many times before the draughting of the Wolfenbüttel map. No part of the west or Pacific coast is given, the ocean line being made to terminate with the western opening of the Strait of Magellan, or "estrecho de fernam Magelhaes." Twenty-nine names are given along the coast south of "R: de carcarana," the principal tributary of the Rio de la Plata, on which river Cabot constructed a fort giving it the name "S: espir-

¹²⁹ Winship: Cabot Bibliography, xlv and the references.

¹³⁰ Varnhagen l. c. I, p. 37 says that Christovao Jaques in 1526 established a Portuguese Factory at "Pernambuco."

¹³¹ "La boca deste Rio descubrio Juhan de Solis el ano de 1515:—eaqui lomataro los Indios:—fx despues entro aqui Sebastian gaboto fx estono en el mas de dos anos fx subieron el Rio a Riba obra de: 200: leaguas es el Rio ancho de : 5.6.7. fx 8. leaguas fx de muchos fx diversos pescados dizentos q ven ieron q ay alli oro porende ollos nolo truxeron."

Ribero's legend reads:—"This land was discovered by Juhan de Solis in the year 1515 or 1516. Sebastian Cabot is now there in a fort which he has constructed. It is very well suited for producing breadstuffs and wine in great abundance. The river is very large and abounds in fish. It is thought there is much gold and silver in the interior."

ito" (Sancti Spiritus.) The legend here reads: "All this land was discovered by Ferdinand Magellan in the year 1520. where he found the strait through which he passed to the Moluccas. All this land is very steril and there is nothing of value. The Indians are men of great, almost gigantic size."¹³²

Vespucci says that he sailed along this coast as far south as latitude 52°.¹³³ If his statement can be accepted, he then must have been the first to sight the Patagonian region. The information given by Vespucci reappears on the Ruysch map of 1508 but in an indefinite reference merely to Portuguese seamen having reached latitude 50°.¹³⁴ There is no extant map laying down this coast before the Magellan voyage, unless we accept the Schöner globe of 1515 as one making such record, since it indicates a strait south of the great southern continental land.¹³⁵

September 20th, 1519, Fernando Magelhaes set sail from Spain for the purpose of making a more careful survey of the coast of South America.¹³⁶ Since no strait had been found north of the Rio de la Plata, and it was his belief that somewhere a strait could be found through which one might pass into Oceanus Orientalis, he turned his course southward, after touching the northeast angle of Brazil.

¹³² "TIERRA DE PATAGONES, toda esta terra descubrio Fernam de Magallaes el año de 1520: donde allo el estrecho por donde paso amaluco: Toda esta tierra es muy esteril y de nígún provecho los Indios son hombres de grandes cuerpos e sy gigantes."

Ribero's legend reads:—"THE COUNTRY OF THE PATAGONIANS; those who inhabit this land where Ferdinand Magellan found the strait are men of large bodies, almost giants, covered with skins of animals. The land is sterile and is of no value. Here Magellan remained six months at anchor in the port of St. Julian which is in (latitude) 50 degrees. There the Indians came on board and having tasted the bread and the wine which was given them on the ships, they showed great disgust for the same. Here they saw no houses. They live in the open air. Here are many ostriches. The Indians use arrows."

¹³³ The *Cosmographie Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller in fac-simile, followed by the *Four Voyages* of Amerigo Vespucci with translation in English, by Joseph Fischer, S. J. and Franz von Weiser, edited by Charles George Herbermann, p. 142. This is a most commendable piece of work.

¹³⁴ *Vide* the Ruysch map in Nordenskiöld: *Fac-simile Atlas*, Plate XXXII.

¹³⁵ *Vide* an excellent monograph by Franz v. Wieser: *Magalhaes-Strasse und Austral-Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner*, 1881.

¹³⁶ The best account of the Magellan voyage may be found in Guillemanrd: *Life of Magellan*; Stanley: *First Voyage of Magellan* (Hakluyt Society) containing Pigafetta's account, the Account of Maximilian Transylvanus, Extracts from Correa; also in Blair and Robertson: *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. I.

The story of his voyage need not here be related. We find in Navarrete's *Coleccion* a statement that he had with him a number of parchment maps reputed to be the work of Nuño Garcia by which he directed his course, and we also know that Diego Ribero had been entrusted with the construction of charts for the expedition according to models which the Reinels had supplied. The Sevillian maps, to which I have referred are the oldest extant which unmistakably lay down the Magellan discovery. That our chart-maker wished to call especial attention to the success of the expedition is exhibited in the two ships he has here drawn with the subscribed legend "voy amaluco." If Estevam Gomez carried back to Spain with him a chart of that southern region, it could hardly have recorded a strait, since he deserted his commander before completing the passage. It could hardly have been before 1522, on the return of Sebastian del Cano that charts were brought to Spain recording the great geographical discovery. Upon such reports as were then rendered, our Sevillian charts must have been modeled. Along the south coast of the Strait six names are given, including the significant name "Tierra de los fuegos."

The Turin-Spanish map lays down about six or eight degrees of the Pacific coast of South America, north of the Strait of Magellan, indicating by the legend "Tierra de dezember" the point whence Magellan set sail for his cruise across the Pacific, and the extreme northern point which he reached before his venture into the open sea.¹⁸⁷ Not until 1526 does it appear that this west coast was followed to the "rear of Nueva España," as was the expression often employed in referring to the west coast of Central America.¹⁸⁸ Near a decade passed before we find positive evidence re-

¹⁸⁷ Magellan's course is usually marked too far to the south. There is a good chart of his course in the Pacific in Stanley: *First voyage around the World by Magellan*, in Hakluyt Society publications, No. 52, p. 176; also in Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II, p. 610.

¹⁸⁸ Guevara, a Captain in the expedition of Loaysa, sailing in 1525. During a storm in June 1526 he was separated from the other vessels of the fleet as he passed out into the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan. He sailed northward, without taking careful observations of the coast, and in July arrived off the coast of "Guatemala provincia."

corded on the maps that the entire contour of South America had become known.¹³⁹

The Wolfenbüttel map exhibits the Pacific coast of the New World from "R: ciego" in "Guatimala provincia" to "po. y. provincia de la cibdad de chinchax" which province or city marks the southern limit of Pizarro's government of "PERU." "Chinchax" or Chinchá, according to the natives, was the name of a rich city and province in the interior. Between the points designated, thirty-six names are given. Not all of these can be traced to their origin, but they were given between the discovery of Balboa in 1513 and the expedition of Pizarro in 1527, within which period we know of many expeditions along that particular section of the coast or along parts of it. There is some reason for thinking that a part of the coast had been laid down on a map by Columbus as early as 1504 from data he derived from the natives. The oldest known chart which has sketched any part of it is one, in the main of Portuguese origin, of about 1519, representing, off the coast in Mar del Sur, an exploring party in open boats, probably drawn from Balboa records.¹⁴⁰ This was a promising region for the Spanish adventurers and gold seekers, and it is not strange that within so short a time after it became known we have it so well charted.

Of the islands represented in "OCCEANUS OCCIDENTALIS" (sic) little can here be said. To trace the origin of each of the names, near one hundred and twenty, would give undue length to this paper. Only the island "y: de verde" and "Myadas" in the north Atlantic give evidence of the influence of early tradition. With but few exceptions the names recorded are yet retained. Each of the seven islands of "ISLAS DE LAS ACORES" has the name given before the discovery of the New World. The location of the Canaries is indicated in the legend, "ISLAS DE LAS CANARES," though individual names are omitted, while the "ISLAS DE CABO

¹³⁹ On many of the early maps this coast is conjecturally laid down. *Vide* such maps as that of Majollo 1527, the Verrasano map of 1529.

¹⁴⁰ Stevenson: Maps, No. 5.

VERDE" appear with five names. In the "ISLAS DE LAS LVCAYOS" and "ISLAS DE CARIBES" there is an attempt at a grouping of the New World islands. "Cuba" and "Haiti" with their neighboring smaller companions are laid down with relative accuracy, though exhibiting in their latitude and longitude the common errors of the Sevillian maps. In the Gulf of Mexico, along the coast of Yucatan, of Honduras, and of Venezuela more than forty island names appear.

On the extreme left of the map a section of the mainland of "LA CHINA" is represented, and near this, to the south-east, the "PROVINCIA DE MOLVCA," "GILOLO," with many islands lying within "SINUS MAGNS." At the time the map was drawn, the Moluccas were attracting particular attention. Magellan had reached them by sailing westward from Spain, and the word of his discoveries, and of his death, had been carried back to Spain by Sebastian del Cano in his vessel the *Victoria*. The quarrel between Spain and Portugal, over the possession of the Indian islands of the east began with the arrival of the reports of this expedition. The Congress of Badajos of 1524 could not adjust the difficulties, since it could not definitely settle the perplexing geographical question respecting the exact location of the Line of Demarcation.

The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had directed that this line should be drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands from pole to pole but nothing was therein said concerning its extension around the world. Dawson interestingly suggests that the Line of Demarcation was not intended to be a *terminus ad quem*, but a *terminus a quo*, that Spain was to be limited only by the eastward progress of Portugal and that Portugal was to be limited only by the westward progress of Spain.¹⁴¹ The point concerning the extension of the line to the remote east did not therefore become a practical one until Magellan reached the Moluccas.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Dawson: The Line of Demarcation, p. 495 in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 1899.

¹⁴² Vide Stanley: The First Voyage around the World by Magellan in Hakluyt Society Publications, Vol. 52.

The Ribber maps lay down the Moluccas as belonging to Spain, placing them between the Line of Demarcation, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, which line is also made the prime meridian, and the meridian 180° to the west, that is within the Spanish hemisphere. Measurement will show the Wolfenbüttel and the Ribero maps to be practically identical with respect to the location of these eastern lands. That some uncertainty existed in the minds of the map-makers is curiously exhibited in the duplication of the coast line of "GILOLO."

The "ysa de los ladrones" is laid down, this being the locality where Magellan had his first unpleasant experiences with the natives, and we also find the "baxos de S: Lorence" where the Europeans were at first cordially received but where Magellan lost his life in a conflict with the natives.

On the 11th of February, after months of hardships, the one remaining vessel, the Victoria, under command of Sebastian del Cano, left the island of "timors" on the homeward voyage, reaching San Lucar, September 6th, 1522. A new period of discovery now opened, a new type of world map now made its appearance, of which type the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map is an unsurpassed example.

Great care has been exercised in the following pages to give a correct reading of the legends and names to be found on the map. That some of the words have been misinterpreted is possible. Some of the legends, as given by the chart-maker, are scarcely intelligible, and the translations in some instances are conjectural. One can not be certain in all cases of the spelling of the geographical names. The scope of this paper has not permitted the printing of a detailed consideration of the origin of the several names, more than six hundred, which appear on the map. The names and legends are, however, printed here in full, those in red being printed in italics.

TIERA DEL LABRADOR

Laqual fue descubierta por los Yngleses de la uila de bristol e por q̄ el q̄ dio el lauiso della era labrador de las islas de los acares le quido este nōbre.

TIERA NVEVA DE LOS BACALLAOS

Esta tierra fue descubierta por los portogesos noayen ello cosa de provecho mas q̄ los bacallaos q̄ es pescado muy bueno. Aqui seper diero los corte Reales.

y: de la fortuna
y: de la tormenta
S: Juhan
S: po
y: de los saualos
c: hermessio
b: de las gamas
y: del fuego
yaleos de las aves
C: de Marco
y: de frey luis
b: de S: ciria
y: de los bacallaos
C: despera
R: de las paras
C: Rasso
C: de s: Palos

TIERA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ

Laqual descubrio el año 1525 por mādado de su magestad estierra des puesta para dar pã sz hemoẽ mūches abūdancia

y: de S: Juhan
 Tierra de los bretonos
 de la buelta
Golfo
 Montanas
 Arenales
R: de S: Maria
C: de mūchas yslas
y: de S: Juhan
 playas
R: de los Indios
S: Juhan baptista
R: de buena madre
 Montana X de
 asierras
 Montanas
R: de s: Antonio
b: de s: Xpoval
C: de arenas

TIERA DEL LICENCIADO AILLOM

R: de S: tiago
C: de S: Juhan
 playa
b: de S: maria
R: del spu sto
C: Trafalgar
 Arboledas
R: del principe
R: sūcio
C: de s: Roman
R: Jordam
S: elena
C: de s: elena
C: Gruesso
R: solo
 Marbaxa
 Arriciffes

TIERA DE GARAY

R: solo
R: Florido
R: de corrientes
C: Roxo
R: salado
Canico
 Playa
b: de Juhan ponce
 ataliya
 Motas
R: de la conception
C: escondido
Buque
 namdad
 pã baxa
R: de s: Juhan
 Costa tessa
R: de nieves
 Ancones
 praeles
 Angla
R: de flores
 elcañaveral
 ancones
 motas de salvator
 marpequeña
 ostial
R: del spũ sto

TIERA DE PANFILO DE NARBAEZ

C: de +
C: simco
Tñ de gigantes
R: deloro

playabaxa
anegados
R: escendido
Malibrigo
C: bravo
tesa Costa
R: de palmas
R: hmosso
arboledas
Montës

NVEVA ESPANA

Dixo se asi por q se dan szcrian-
todas las cosas q lleuan de spafia
y se cose yatrigo en mucha abunda-
cia.

Panuco
terra de paucos
C: Roxo
ya: de lobos
playa
angla de racones
S: po y. S: pablo
terra llana
almeria
torre blanca
playas
Villa Rica laniesa
Villa Rica
S: y: de olua
R: de vanderas
po: de gada
R: daluarado
Roca partida
Sierras de *S: martin*
R: de guasacalco
salinas
Rambla
la Rambla
de *S: anton*
R: de palmas
R: des boca
R: de grijalua
terminos
R: de cristianos
Golfo dulce
S: gilos buena vista
po: de las higueras
C: dez-puntaz
R: de allados
po: de caualllo
R: de pechi
po: de lucal
Triumfo de la +
mãtan
R: de pdidos
Sierra de *S: xpual*
C: de honduras

decam arena
pa: de aricifes
Mar del la tierra
Cartago
de laorosa
de labiuora
C: de gracias a dios
G: de ileos
cargay
Cerabaro
Arboleda
bela
varagua
po: bello Retrete
acla poco nobre dedia
darien
dabay

CASTILLA DEL ORO

Esta es lagouer nacioñ de la grañ
a fa fz ao ble compafia de los bel
zeres.

Caribana
Capataca
montana alta
Cartagena
laca
po de Zamba
R: Grande
aldeas
s: marla
gochire
Ramada
seturna
C: la vela
quaquibacoa
pueblo de *p. lanoato*
Golfo de venezuela
moriana de Paraguana
C: de S: Roman
terra de provincia
Paraguohua
Tucuruca?
Golfo Triste
R: ———
y: de guaymacara
C: moro de la ha——ca
ca———
——evh——acoa
C: de la codera
R: de las viedras
R: de——
Macarapana
———
Macarapana
———
po canches
Golfo de Faria

aruca Provincia

R: de Vya— pary

RIO DE MARANOM

Aqui us ora apoblar el comendador
diego dordas este Rio es muy
caudalossa por quo astando 20
leguas enla mardis que toman
agua dulce.

anogados

palmas

R: sallado

R: de canoas

Monto espesso

R: dulce

tierra llana

po baxa

R: de labara

arreciffes

R: Verde

R: salado

arboledas

R: baxo

aldea

C: blanco

furna

Mantanas

R: de la buella

Aldea

R: baxo

Rio de la bueta

ffirm granda

c: blanco

Costa de lasas

arbolado

R: de pascua

Visto de loxos

costa de paricura

Maranhom

R: de la trinidad

C: del coste

C: del monte

caleta

furna

R: de vicente Yaez pincon

C: Negro

baya apracelada

anglo de la aguada

baya hermosa

Tierra del pauro

playa del prael

arboledos

C: de S: Roque

EL BRASIL

C: de baxos

parnambuquo

C: de S: agostinho

R: del lago

R: de S: francisco

baxa barilles

po Real

S: hieronimo

baya de todos santos

montanas

R: de los cosmos

R: de las estrellas

R: de S: Jorge

monte pascual

R: de las Ostias

p: de barbora

Baxos de los pargos

baya del salvador

Sierra de S: lucia

C: frio

R: de Janeyrio

R: de la India

R: de extremo

po de sebastion

R: de la cananea

R: de S: francisco

y: de S: catalina

po de los patos

R: de los negros

C: de S: ma

terra de Jo de solis

S: Salvador

R: negro

huruy

ysa: de Roderigo alvares

y: de Xpont Jaques

MVNDVS N O VV S

EL GRAM RIO DE PARANA

La boca deste Rio descubrio Juhan
de solis el año de 1515:—eaqui
lomataro los Indios:—fz despues
entro aqui sebastian gaboto fz
estono en el mas de dos anos fz
subieron el Rio a Riba obra de :
200 : leguas es el Rio ancho
de : 5.6.7.fz 8 leguas fz de
muchos fz diversos pescados
dizentos q venieron q ay alli oro
porende ollos nolo truxeron.

S: ana

Paragua

ypitin

El gram Rio de parana

S: esperitos

TIERA DE PATAGONES

Toda esta terra descubrio Fernam
de magallaes el año de 1520 :
Donde allo ei estrecho por donde

paso amaluco. Toda esta tierra es muy esteril f. de n. g. m. pro vecho los Indios son hombres de grandes cuerpos muy gigantes.	p. de paxas Golfo de Fonseca C: <i>hermosse</i> vela bien S: <i>Catalina</i> R: de <i>possysson</i> <i>nicaragua</i> salinas C: de S: <i>tiago</i> las vellás ariciffes pocosi C: <i>del farallon blanco</i> G: de S: <i>vycente</i> y: <i>del cano</i> po primero pa de <i>brica</i> ys: de v—ma— y: <i>de gatos</i> y: de <i>cebaco</i> po de buena vista po <i>geria</i> panama G: de S: <i>Migel</i> canacam p: de <i>pinhas</i> G: de <i>isleos</i> po de <i>lacandelaria</i> C: <i>de la afrenta</i> R: de S: <i>pablo</i> po de <i>rio duca</i> y: <i>de palmas</i> y: de S: <i>espeuan</i> R: de S: <i>Juhan</i> R: de S: <i>maria</i> y: <i>de la madalena</i> po de S: <i>niculas</i> y: <i>del gallo</i> b: de S: <i>lucas</i> po <i>delatonna</i> C: de <i>plata</i> —ncamer po: de <i>la gallo</i> C: de S: <i>francisco</i> po <i>bnjo</i> (or <i>Vijo</i>) C: de S: <i>lorenico</i> y: de S: <i>elena</i> y: de S: <i>tiago</i> R: de <i>la concepcion</i> <i>Salinas de la cibdad de tumbes</i> po de <i>senxuon</i> R: <i>des Migel</i> C: de <i>nieves</i> <i>golfe de des: catalina</i> C: de S: <i>maria</i> ya de buena vista po de <i>malabrigro</i> la provincia de <i>sierra morena</i>
R: de <i>carcarana</i> C: de S: <i>antonio</i> po de S: <i>elena</i> <i>arenas gordos</i> Trra de los humos <i>baxos anegados</i> trra <i>baxa</i> barreras blancas tres puntas <i>Bayá syn fonda</i> Ricife de lobos C: de S: <i>domingo</i> R: de <i>cananor</i> tierra de marco C: <i>blanco</i> tierra llana b: <i>de los trabajos</i> R: <i>dey serranas</i> Trra de las <i>baxas</i> Sierras <i>hermosas</i> po de S: <i>Julian</i> R: de la + b: de S: <i>tiago</i> R: de <i>Sancto ylafonasa</i> C: de los <i>onze mil virgines</i> b: <i>de la Vitoria</i> b: del Norte canal de todos <i>sanctos</i> arcipelago del <i>cabo deseado</i>	
(Islands off the coast of Patagonia.) y: de los <i>patos</i> yas de <i>Sanson</i>	
(On the coast south of the Strait of Magellan.) estrecho de <i>fernand de Magalhaes</i> Syerras de los <i>homos</i> lago de los <i>estrechos</i> Tierra de los <i>fuegos</i> Sierras <i>nevadas</i> <i>ysa nevadas</i> C: <i>deseado</i>	
(The Pacific coast from north southward.) Guatemala provincia R: <i>cielo</i> aguaga de <i>botijas</i> las <i>puercas</i> <i>Rostro fragoso</i> R: de <i>marismas</i>	

po: y provincia de la cibdad de chinchay:—

PERU PROVINCIA
MAR DEL SVR

*y^a : de S: Roque
ysleos de S: antonio
S: clara
Samojata
S: Xrenol*

(Islands in north Atlantic.)

*y: de verde
Maydas
y: de Jo estevez*

ISLAS DE LAS ACORES

*y: de flores
Fayal
S: Jorge
pico
S: migel
Graciossa
laicucera*

ISLAS DE LAS CANAREAS
OCC E A N V S O C C I D E N -
T A L I S

ISLAS DE CABO VERDE

*S: antoni
S: vicento
S: lucia
S: niculao
S: tyago*

ISLAS DE LOS LVCA YOS

*Baxos de babueca
amnana
canana
Mayas guana
ya baque
yuagua
Guanahany
cigatyó
yucayonec
bahama
bimini
Roques
la bermuda*

ISLA DE CARIBES

*boca del drago
la trinidad
tabago
la granada
barbados
vycente
S: lucia
matenino
dnica (dominica)*

*marigalante
Deseada
el antigua
Labarda
S: bartolome
elanguila
Sombbrero
Anegada
las virgines
passaje
po Rico
Zecheo
C: Roxo
ys daneyuana
al barrom
S: +
S : paual
lafmenos
rodonda
y: de aves
Monserate
guadalupe
.....*

CUBA

*c: de corrientes
Guaniguanico
y^a de pinos
Jardin de la Reyna
Jardin del Rey
C: de +
S: tiago
po: de palmas
p: de mayci
trenidad
y: de lobos
Camariora
Xapua
canan
havana
C: de S: anton

jamayca
Elnogrillo
bituotas (livoras?)
oristan
bayacares
navaca*

*Haiti
C: deltiburón
ya baque
altovelo
la beata
S: domingo
S: Catalina
Saona
lamona
C: de higuey*

po de plata
po: trino
po: *Real*
vaquimo dagua
cubana
S: niculas
guana
 (Islands in the Gulf of Mexico.)
y: de sacrificios
lazarea
trangulo
alcaoranes
Tortugas
Martires
 (Islands east of Yucatan.)
y: llana
todos
s: stee
S: fr
lazaro
lapartida
cocumel
amazones
 (Islands east of Honduras and on
 coast of Venezuela.)
elescudo
y: de la stinientos
de la canao
S: adres
S: catalina
la serrana
yas: de meco
cativa
tortuga
ya: fuerte
ya: dabaru
ys: de stuardo
yas: de arenas
elaguja
los mojas
aruba
curacaut
Boynari
Los Roques
ysleo
laorchilla
pucia guari
cubagua
y: blanca
Margarita
frayles
testicos

LA CHINA

cantam (The picture of a city
 emphasizes the importance of
 this place.)

Mataoi

ysa danquenejaga
aguada a prim
aqua de de s: tiago
R: de la ascencion
baxos de los Ramos
C: de pescadore
R: de la sal
y: de s: +
Recife daguada
baxos de s: Lorenzo
C: de branca teineira
entrada de s: Roman
yas de los ladrones

PROVINCIA DE MALVCO

polaguan
cubu
caylon
hunhan
y: de negro
bobol
macagua
culuan
Marcelagos
cagayan
quepit
cubuqu
S: ma
taquima
canela
candicot
carragan
Po
colo (The meridian of 180° on
 the Ribero maps passes through
 this island.)

Sangil
teruenate
mavatedorg
motil

GILOLO

machian
bachan
tenedo (?)
bur
ambon

SINVS MAGNS

Mulua
timors
ataffuffuz
Insule hee q rubro scribe sunt. s.
prouincia de maluco gilolo scm
(secundum) 'Joannes sebastiano
del cano tali longitudine situantur
qui prime nauis garioflorum
plena que a maluco uenit. itiden
que primitus orbem circuiuit dux
fuit scm (secunda) nauigatione
quan ano 1520. 1521. 1522 fecerat.

EARLY COMMERCIAL PROVIDENCE.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

The agricultural Plantation founded at Providence by Roger Williams was penetrated by the outer world and opened to commerce, as the century turned. Pardon Tillinghast's wharf in 1682, the settlement of Gideon Crawford, a trained Scottish merchant, in 1687, mark the opening. In 1711, ship-building began, and commerce with the West Indies and the Atlantic Colonies was fully established. Providence sent to the West Indies, timber, staves, hoops, farm-produce; it received in return sugar and molasses, soon to be distilled into rum. With the advantage of these direct imports, it traded with the southern Atlantic ports for flour always, sometimes Indian corn; with Boston and Newfoundland for fish.

Gideon Crawford married Freelove Fenner, a daughter of Roger Williams' strongest friend, and granddaughter of William Harris, his strongest opponent. She was of solid Rhode Island stock, and the Scot showed his confidence in her by bequeathing his whole estate for her management. She justified his confidence; conducting the business boldly and wisely, sending her own vessels here and there.

Crawford died in 1707, leaving £1556, 1s. 2d., not including "bonds, and book debts for £775, 10s.," and goods in stock worth £355, 10s. He had two negroes at £56, five good feather beds and their furnishing, at £60, 15s. The wearing apparel for this man, who was not extravagant, was £20, 17s., with swords, pistols and small arms at £10, 18s. The merchants had introduced better living into the Plantation. Even Crawford's modest outlay was a marked increase in the cost of dress. In the seventeenth century, apparel generally cost £6 to £8.

Stephen Arnold, a rich farmer, expended £12 in 1699. Pardon Tillinghast, the cooper-preacher, in 1717 only allowed himself £10, 19s. The rich Widow Crawford, dying in 1712, had £47, 7s., in her wardrobe—a large expenditure for the time. Pardon Tillinghast possessed only one silver spoon. The widow left £21, 5s. 6d., in silver plate—a tankard, salt “seller,” two porringers and seven spoons.

The use of pewter ware was about the most constant social factor from 1650 to 1750. After the feather bed, it was the best appreciated domestic comfort. Table service with spoons and the universal porringer were in pewter, until the dishes were replaced by “white stone” ware, common crockery.

Let us glance at Captain John Jenckes' inventory, June 30, 1721, for it indicates the way of living just previous, and the habits of these secluded planters. The captain was not a landholder nor of the growing class of merchants; he kept a small shop, leaving a personal estate of £544, 3s. 10d. His wearing apparel valued at £11, 16s., was reinforced on important occasions by a broadcloth suit worth £8, and his one pair of silver buckles stood at 12s. The first pair of brass snuffers was his, as recorded. He had a coffee-pot of copper, and a tea-pot probably made of pewter, with a knife and fork. Table knives were used here in the seventeenth century, but forks were not to be had in Boston until after 1700.

The Captain sold drugs and fanciful articles like the necklace and silver lace. The most significant item in his stock was the first recorded dozen of tooth brushes. Dress makes a habit and nine tailors may make a man; but the incoming of this symbol of cleanliness was yet more important than the outside apparel.

There had been some unpleasantness between the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island, in the time of Roger Williams, and it continued for nearly a century. The rigorous ice was broken in 1721, when Thacher, Danforth and Belcher, a distinguished committee of the “Presbyterian ministry” in Massachusetts addressed a

civil and respectful note to "fifteen leading citizens and others" proposing a new meeting for their own faith. Their own clergy and those of Connecticut had preached there, in the "freedom and safety they have enjoyed under the wise and good government of the place."

Whatever the Baptists and Quakers of Rhode Island learned of Puritan Massachusetts—and they learned much—it did not include tolerance or Christian peace. Whether the men responsible for government in Providence thought a theocratic *quid pro quo* should reward intercolonial courtesy in theology, or whether mere pride of controversy prevailed, we do not know. After waiting, Jonathan Spreague answered for the inhabitants at great length, with arguments direct if not gracious. "We answer, this happiness principally consists in our not allowing societies to have any superiority one over another, but each society supports their own ministry of their own free will. . . . At this very present you are rending towns in pieces, ruining the people with innumerable charges, which make them decline your ministry, and fly for refuge some to the Church of England, and others to dissenters of all denominations, and you, like wolves pursue."¹

The long letter is worth study, for the points of delicious sarcasm alone, but something much more momentous than ecclesiastical sharp-shooting is involved. The American idea rooted in soul-liberty was beginning to sprout and overspread the harsh theocracy of Massachusetts. A generation later, Jonathan Mayhew from a Boston pulpit put forth the new ideas of freedom supporting Adams and Otis. It is a marvel that these homely Protestants, descended from Roger Williams, could and did work out such great ideas, with so little of the world's learning to aid them. It was the vigorous education of affairs that developed Spreague and those like him. He was an example of the men qualified all around for public duty; serving as a deputy, justice of the peace, speaker of the House of Deputies and clerk of the Assembly. Also he preached as an exhorter. He put soul-liberty into the common formulas of political

¹ Staples' "Annals of Providence," pp. 434-438.

freedom, through his life and contact with individuals freed from outworn trammels, and yet conserving the true principles of order; as the Massachusetts committee testified.

The action of our community was better than this diplomatic controversy would indicate; for the First Congregational Society was soon formed, and King's, the first Episcopal parish, about the same time. The Huguenot, Gabriel Bernon, a very interesting character, settled in Providence in 1721. An ardent churchman, he was most efficient in founding the new Episcopal church. He was more than that—a Huguenot and educated French merchant, he had a liberal spirit needed in New England. In canvassing for the Episcopal movement he wrote, "we have in our town, learned men. Let them be Popish Churchmen, Presbytery, Protestant Quakers or Gartonian (*sic*)"—and if there be some Profanes that call them to hold no religion at all—we have a great many worthy gentlemen that make their application to read the Holy Scriptures and are very well able to give an account of their faith." These "learned men" were of the same kind as Spreague. The few books inventoried were well used, but there were no schools to teach them this wisdom.

Gabriel Bernon was bred in wise old Europe, whence he fled to preserve his faith. He had sacrificed in every way to promote the church holding his own tenets. For residence, he had tried Massachusetts and Newport, which was then perhaps the most cultured community in America. Yet he found in these dwellers at Providence "sober men that can learn and teach things by true demonstration." Nothing could prove more clearly the growth of citizens of the world out of the narrow opportunities of Providence Plantations than this disinterested testimony from a Frenchman and an Episcopalian.

In the second decade, commerce was well established on the wharves of the Great Salt River, as the Bay was called. To the West Indies, the exports were salted beef and pork, peas, butter, timber or lumber, staves and hoop poles. Horses were in constant demand, but the shipment of these was larger from the Narragansett country.

largely made for both domestic and foreign use, as well as peach brandy, for in any good orchard, "apple and peach trees fruited deep."

The most important change made in the manufactures of New England at this period, was the introduction of distilleries for rum. Beer or ale with cider had been the favorite drinks, but as rum cheapened, the farmers and fishermen took it freely. Yet greater was the African demand for the slave trade. Sometimes a cargo of rum could not be obtained for cash in less than three months. Providence was not so largely concerned in the African trade as Newport and Bristol, but all the ports tampered with black ivory. Poor sugar and good molasses were quickly converted into rum, the greatest impelling agent of commerce. Providence added the rendering of oil from spermaceti or head matter, and the manufacture of sperm-candles. This brought our community into close relations with Nantucket, the center of the whaling industry. Direct exports to London, chiefly of timber and lumber, began about 1751.

Tobacco had long been an article of export. It induced a very thrifty illicit trade, which avoided the heavy English revenue taxes. In one week in 1669, there were nine vessels from New England, selling tobacco in New Amsterdam. The most of our farmers raised it, generally in quantities from 100 lbs. to 400 lbs.

Sloops were employed in the foreign trade, and sixty tons burden was the largest size. Ketches and snows were used in other parts of New England, but we find no trace of them in the upper Bay. A momentous step was taken, in both political and economic affairs when the first paper money was issued by the colony in 1710. Paper currency, properly controlled, is a great blessing to civilization. But unlimited public credit carries evils far surpassing any possible good to be derived from it. It overstimulates industries and demoralizes the citizen. This departure in finance was occasioned by the great effort made by the little Colony to join in the expedition of 1710 against Port Royal. Trade thrived, stimulated by the paper medium.

Let us move on and study the ways of living among these people. Values are advanced, but they are more or less confused in the prices stated. Hon. Joseph Jenckes, Esq., (*sic*) had wearing apparel worth £84, 13s., and books at £15, in 1741. The worthy gentleman made up in redundancy of titles what he lacked in substance, for his personal estate was only £124, 1s. Captain Abraham Angell had £108, 10s., in wearing apparel and £12, in books and mathematical instruments. He must have been frequently thirsty, for there were eight china punch bowls at £9, as well as silver spoons at £12, 5s. His whole personal estate was £851, 10s. 4d. Some occasional prices may be of interest. A punch bowl and cover—probably of pewter—was appraised at 8s., a pair of leather breeches at £1, 8s., a pair of boots and an old wig at £2, 10s. Wigs were in general use. Knives, forks and razors were common and an inevitable joynt-stool stood at 20s.; the type had been used for a century.

Thomas Harris' inventory shows wearing apparel at £50, Coke upon Littleton, a great Bible and several books at £25. He walked out in a large pair of silver shoe buckles worth £4, 15s, and carrying either a cane, or a walking staff with silver ferrule and ivory head—the two valued at £1, 16s. Seven and one-half yards "bought" broad cloth was appraised at £32, 5s. and thirteen and one-quarter yards of "Home-Made" at £13, 5s. The imported article was worth about four times as much as the homespun. A warming pan stood at £4. He had a moderate farming outfit in a personal estate of £839, 4s. 6d.

A different class of society was represented by Captain William Walker who died intestate and probably bankrupt, in 1742. Mrs. Hope Brown, mother of the "Four Brothers," being the largest creditor was appointed administratrix. He was probably a bachelor, merchant or trader, and an extravagant fop, leaving wearing apparel worth £166, 13s, 16d., and in "Plate," £43, 18s. On his finger he flourished a gold ring with "five sparks supposed to be dimonds," valued at £20. His "Carnelian seal" was in gold at £2, 10s.; his highly decorated person being supported by a "gold

cane," worth £15. The house was amply furnished and contained 21 pictures in frames at £5. 5s. Snuff boxes were rarely mentioned and Captain Walker's toilette included one at £1, 5s. A knife and fork—the first mentioned with a carved handle—was appraised at £1, 10s. A knife with one "totam to pour rum" was valued at £2. The whole personal property amounted to £2498. 18s.; the debts are not given.

Stephen Hopkins came to Providence in 1742. English immigration had long passed away, and colonial life had fairly begun. The original and truly educated immigrants were thoroughly English. Roger Williams came from a university, Samuel Gorton was a scholar, the first men of Newport had been bred in large affairs. Their successors might be Bernon's "learned men," but they were not learned as we understand the term.

Hopkins' education came from his mother and relatives, and his writings show that he studied the great English classics. All accounts indicate that he was a deep reader, as long as life lasted. Such men lacked the scholastic method but they read and thought seriously, developing the powers of the individual mind. Many reported Hopkins' gifts and acquisitions; the most significant testimony came from the trained and eloquent John Adams, in the time of Congress, showing how one untaught in the schools could teach the teachers themselves. "Gov. Hopkins had read Greek "Roman and British history and was familiar with English "poetry, particularly Pope, Thomson and Milton, and the "flow of his soul made all of his reading our own, and seemed "to bring to recollection in all of us, all we had ever read." Strange that, out of the wilds of Scituate, there came a "flow of soul" which could enthrall the best scholars and highest spirits of America. If Greene was the second soldier in America, Hopkins was the third wisest man in affairs. Hopkins was constantly engaged in public affairs. His family were sailors, and he entered into West Indian commerce. He worked efficiently in founding the first public library, about 1750, was Chancellor of Rhode Island College, and was a constant agent in promoting the best life of the Colony.

Commerce was extending. James Brown, father of "the Four Brothers," dying in 1739, had been a West Indian captain and was a merchant. His brother, Obadiah, with similar experience succeeded to the business, also prosecuting distilling and the manufacture of candles. Esek Hopkins, a West Indian captain, became a most successful privateer and ultimately admiral of the American navy. Providence began direct exports of timber and lumber to London about 1751, Stephen Hopkins owning in the vessel.

Do not imagine that the simple eighteenth century—though destitute of steam-rails, electric machinery, stock-tickers and curb-brokers—did not comprehend or apply any of the machinery of modern civilization. Rockefeller and Carnegie were unborn, but sharp calculators with long heads existed even in those days. What says the reader to a full iron-bound trust in sperm oil? In 1763 a solid agreement made "all Headmatter brought into North America one common Stock or Dividend"² whoever owned the vessels. It was divided between ten manufacturers. Nicholas Brown & Co. getting 20 bbls. in each 100, Palmer, 14; Robinson of Nantucket, 13; "the Philadelphians," 7, etc. The Jews of Newport were among the contractors. If any forfeited their share "by such dishonorable conduct" (minutely specified), it was to be divided *pro rata*. They agreed to pay only ten pounds sterling per ton for headmatter, above the price of "body brown sperm oil," to be fixed by merchants of Boston according to the London market. They frowned on more spermaceti works, "because present are more than sufficient." The arrangement was renewed from year to year until 1769, when the unit was changed from 100 gallons to one hhd. 112, the proportionate shares being the same. The Philadelphians dropped out, and George Room of Newport took a share of $12\frac{8}{10}$ gallons. He was agent of the London merchants in Newport, living in great style at Narragansett, and he became a famous Tory.

There was a strict observance of titles in designating or addressing citizens in the eighteenth century, though

²Nicholas Brown & Co., Ma.

we cannot always perceive the exact method of their application. They were often cumulative, as if dignity could be augmented by prescription.

Furnace Hope on the Pawtuxet, which cast cannon in the Revolution, was organized in 1765. It revealed the scale of rank among the promoters, as it prevailed then. Stephen Hopkins, "Esquire," was of the first part, his only appellation, and he was the only possessor of that title. Of the second part, were the four brothers Brown, called "merchants," Israel Wilkinson of Smithfield, "worker of iron," Job Hawkins of Coventry, "physician," Caleb Arnold of Smithfield, "yeoman."

In 1767, when our population was a little under 3,000, the Stamp Act was kindling the smouldering fires of independence originated by the course of the Sugar Acts. There had been controversy for ten years between the northern portion of the Colony led by Stephen Hopkins and the southern led by Samuel Ward. It was said that this fierce political contest was somewhat ameliorated by the desire of the colonists to be reconciled on domestic questions, preparatory for the impending struggle with the home government. Supporters of Hopkins printed "Seekers of Peace" on their quaint prox and made him governor after a stiff conflict. Nearly all the best citizens of our community contributed freely to the campaign fund. The accounts were kept scrupulously, as the funds were sent to the various towns. In our Plantation itself, they were in full detail, showing the methods of bringing patriots to the polls in the golden days of the past. A gallon of rum to one, cloth for a pair of breeches to another, record the wants of the ingenuous citizen. John Brown paid one-third of a dollar for a fellow citizen's town-tax, as the odd little receipt, filed with the campaign vouchers, shows. Abraham Whipple—afterward of *Gaspee* and Revolutionary fame—carried supplies to Wanton, manager at Newport, who was working against a two-thirds vote. Providence cast every vote for Hopkins, free rum and new breeches establishing true representative opinion. This was only one side of the story; for the *Providence Gazette* was started by William Goddard

in 1762, to animate the northern district in this contest. Both contestants withdrew from further competition.

Privateering and smuggling had much enriched the Colony during the "seven years war." The privateer's career well suited the individual initiative of the Rhode Islander; trained in overcoming French and Spaniards, ultimately he was to triumph over the British lion. Yet more important to the Colony, was the enlargement of political consciousness that prepared the community for the greater sacrifices of the Revolution. Bad as the financial management of the Colony was, it stimulated industry and commerce. The paper money was issued at first for a great patriotic purpose. Larger ideas of government were fostered by such enforced experience. Trained by the severity of camp life, and in the ways of new taxation at home, the planters were coming to be citizens. The turbulent commonwealth of the seventeenth century was gradually putting on the ways of a civilized state.

The descendants of the transplanted Englishmen were, in a rough way, more civilized than the immigrants from the old world. The exaggerated individual of Providence and Portsmouth had become a larger citizen through his enforced political and social growth. In Providence, formerly the hotbed of disputation and agitation, this enlarging and ameliorating process was largely developed by her commercial life. The men descended from Williams, Coddington and Gorton could not be like other men; and their differing heredity was widened out by contact with the world at large. They were not all of as large calibre as Greene and Stephen Hopkins, but they all partook of soul-liberty.

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THREE DOCUMENTS OF 1775

IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

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THREE DOCUMENTS OF 1775

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

The following manuscripts of 1775 dealing with the battle of Bunker Hill and Arnold's march upon Quebec are from the Collections of the Society. The first letter is from Samuel Paine the loyalist to his brother Dr. William Paine of Worcester, the latter a well known physician and for several years a surgeon in the British Army in America. Aside from some personal and family notes this letter gives one of the earliest descriptions of the battle "upon a high hill in Charlestown called Bunkers." The manuscript has never been printed in full and is an excellent companion to the first draft of the official account of the same battle written by Peter Thacher which follows the Paine narrative.

The second manuscript, as stated, is by Peter son of Oxenbridge Thacher the well known New England preacher, lawyer and writer. This account as may be seen from its introduction was based in part on information obtained from Col. William Prescott, if indeed the whole description was not furnished by the latter directly. As here printed the various changes made from the original notes are indicated, but they are changes in wording and do not alter the sense. Thacher's relation has been used by Henry B. Dawson in the *Historical Magazine* for June 1868 and is referred to by Richard Frothingham in his paper on the Battlefield of Bunker Hill read before the Massachusetts Historical Society June 10, 1875. Neither this statement nor the Paine account is given among the original narratives of the battle published by Frothingham in 1876. Both are printed here as illustrations of the dissimilar effect produced by the battle on men having sympathies so unlike. Thacher was an earnest sympathizer with the Americans in their Revolution while Paine viewed the outbreak of hostilities with sincere regret.

1909.]

Three Documents of 1776

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Samuel Paine to Dr. William Paine.

HEAD QUARTERS. BRITISH ARMY. N. AMERICA.

BOSTON. June 20th 1776

Dear Brother.

By the (Cerberus) I have an Opportunity of writing you by which altho' I can take but little pleasure in ~~knowing~~ ~~things~~ Shocking to relate, yet I am sensible it ~~will~~ ~~afford~~ ~~you~~ Sincere Satisfaction to hear from this Country & the ~~interest~~ of your dearest human Connections, and ~~altho' the~~ ~~interest~~ of my Mind, in Every Thing Anxious, will ~~never~~ ~~permit~~ ~~me~~ to sit down & write anything connected, yet ~~will~~ ~~I~~ ~~see~~ ~~you~~. Excuse it, but the variety of Events ~~constantly~~ ~~happening~~ & the Ample Field which the Politics of this Country ~~afford~~ at present, almost Confuses me in writ'g.

I left Worcester last Tuesday week, after ~~receiving~~ ~~from~~ ~~you~~ many Insults and too Cruel Treatment to ~~trouble~~ ~~you~~ ~~were~~. the Recital, as well as my Friends, and by a ~~strange~~ ~~and~~ the greatest good Fortune, I passed thro ~~numerous~~ ~~perils~~ ~~of~~ Armys, which had besieged this Town in every part by ~~land~~. & arrived safe, and a novelty it was to see or hear of a ~~person~~ from the Country, I being the only & last one that has ~~been~~ ~~in~~ since. I have since been treated with great ~~kindness~~ ~~by~~ some of the Principal Officers in the Army. Your wife, ~~children~~ & all our Friends were then well. My Father is ~~presently~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Town~~ & disarmed, with a number of ~~others~~ ~~among~~ whom I was one, but have made my escape; Bill, I ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~of~~ ~~Friends~~ ~~to~~ ~~you~~. I have taken every ~~possible~~ ~~care~~ of your Interest, and your best of wives can ~~with~~ ~~me~~ ~~with~~ ~~an~~ ~~agreeable~~ & Happy. I flatter myself it has been ~~as~~ ~~our~~ ~~situation~~ ~~would~~ ~~admit~~ ~~of~~, and I have her ~~kindness~~ ~~of~~ Affection in such a degree, as to feel that Inward Satisfaction which amply repays me for my Trouble. I cannot ~~forget~~, I cannot account for your Conduct towards your ~~friend~~ ~~at~~ Worcester when at Salem, I know not the Cause, I ~~will~~ ~~not~~ ~~be~~ ~~to~~ blame you, You ought to know what is Right. I ~~was~~ ~~on~~ ~~my~~ ~~way~~ ~~to~~ ~~Salem~~ ~~on~~ ~~purpose~~ ~~to~~ ~~see~~ ~~you~~, but you ~~were~~ ~~gone~~ ~~two~~ ~~days~~ ~~before~~, without even a Single Line or ~~letter~~. I returned to Worcester, & they were all surpriz'd but ~~since~~ I have been here I have heard of your burning home ~~affairs~~ especially one to the Brig. which was of utmost ~~consequence~~ ~~and~~ ~~has~~ ~~rather~~ ~~been~~ ~~a~~ ~~disservice~~ ~~to~~ ~~you~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~man~~ ~~of~~ ~~business~~, but I flatter myself the Matter was not ~~as~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~represented~~.

The King's Troops have gained tho' at a Great Loss, a surpriz'g Victory over the Rebels, last Saturday. An awful

scene of which I was an Eye Witness & [*have] been since on the Field of Battle, and shall endeavor for your Satisfaction to give some account of it.

After the Concord Expedition Affairs took a turn. A Large Army was immediately raised, & every Passage to the Town of Boston invested, the Prov'l Congress, conducted Extremely well, put their Army on Pay, by issuing a Large Sum of Paper Currency, and they appeared very formidable, having Plenty of Artillery. In various Rencontres with the King's Troops they got the Better, were flush'd with Victory & held a British Soldier in the highest Contempt, but the surrender of the Important Fortress of Ticonderoga to the American Arms, heightened their Enthusiasm. In this situation of their Minds last Friday night, being very dark, Many Thousands took Possession of a High Hill in Charlestown (called Bunker's) that commanded the whole of this Town, & before Morn'g they had compleated a Redoubt, & such Intrenchments as did Honor to the Engineer, & this Town lay Exposed to a fire which must have ruined it unless prevented. As soon as it was discovered from Cops Hill, near the ferry on which is a fine Battery, the Lively, Glasgow, & Battery began to play, and a most furious Cannonade began upon the Rebels, which they return'd seven Times upon the Town. Instead of Quitt'g their post large Reinforcements were sent from Cambridge Head Quarters of their Army. Matters here began to be Serious. About 1 o'clock all the Grenadiers & light Infantry of the whole Army, reinforced to about 3,000 under the Conduct of the Gallant Lord Howe, & Abercromby Embarked from the Long Wharf, with 12 Brass Pieces & landed at a Point of Land back of Charlestown, in full view of the Rebels, who still kept their Post. The Troops being annoy'd from some Houses in Charlestown, the ships threw Carcasses into it, and in a few min. the whole Town was in flames, a most Awful, Grand & Melancholy Sight. In the Mean, the Troops marched on toward the Hill for the Intrenchments, under a most heavy fire of Artillery, on both sides. Never did I see such a Day; I was on Beacon Hill in full Prospect. In about thirty Min's the Troops were nigh the works exposed to an amazing Fire of small Arms, for by this Time, the Rebels amounted to 10,000. In a few min's we heard the shouts of the British Army, whom we now saw Entering the Breast Works & soon they entered, and a most terrible slaughter began upon the Rebels, who now were every one shifting for himself. The Troops pursued them over the Neck, beyond Temples House, & were Masters of the Field of Battle. The Troops have suffered Extremely,

*In this letter words within brackets have been supplied by the editor.

there being about 24 Officers killed & near 60 wounded and about 700 Rank & File killed & wounded.

The Rebels lost a vast many, among whom was Doct. Warren, a noted Rascal, & Willard Moore of Paxton a Lt. Col. We have about 30 Prisoners here, some of whom are to be Executed. After the firing ceased I went over, & Good God, what a Sight, all the Horrors of War, Death & Rebellion. The British Army is encamped upon the High Hills in Charlestown, in fine Spirits, [and] will advance into the Country as soon as possible, laying waste & desolation wherever they go.

What the Event of all these Matters will be God only knows. As perhaps you may see some better account of the matter, I shall spare any further. The Rebels are very numerous, and continue to besiege the Passages & entrenching themselves upon every strong Post about.

Your Papers are all in Town. You may depend upon my taking the same provident Care, as if they were my own, & in Case of any Accident here, I shall be for securing them; for God only knows what a day may bring forth. We are in Continual Motion here & now we are all in the dark. Last evening 1500 troops under Gen'l Clinton Embark'd in four Transports, their Destination not known, but no doubt Salem, Marblehead, Newbury, &c will be in ashes before night. All the Troops ordered to New York are now to come here, which, including Preston's Regiment of Light Horse which has arrived safe and in fine order, will make abt. 20 Regiments so that we may Expect a Bloody Summer, for my Countrymen fight well for them and are determined at all events to die or conquer.

As I am the only one of the Family here, I shall expect you to write me very particular, and I beg of you to send no Letters either to Salem &c for you may depend upon their being opened while in the Men of War or Transports bound for this Place in which I expect to remain this summer. We have no Market here, the best of us live upon Salt Provisions & Vegetables of which we have Plenty, & Plenty of Fish. I am in good Health, & think upon the whole the Curious Annals of the Times, which perhaps I may not see again in my day, induces me rather to be here than in London or any other part of Europe. I wish only that all my Friends, your wife &c were here with me; I cannot think you can be happy, for anxiety must Embitter Every Pleasure. I take the trouble of sending you no Newspapers. I imagine you see them regularly. If before I send this I can procure one of the Gen'l Proc^l. I will send it, whereby Martial Law is declared throughout the Province to be the only Law, and all Civil Government suspended.

Our Bro. Bradish got caught a little, I suppose you heard of the affair, he is now at Worcester. For your Amusement'

I send you a Certificate of his Conduct by a number of the Army, posted at Cambridge.

My good Friend Dr. Thos. B. Chandler, I suppose to be now in London. He has honoured me with a Correspondence the winter past. I shall depend upon your seeing him, and giving my warmest Love & Friendship, [as] he is the best of Men. Let him see this Letter. I should have wrote him by this ship, but she sails so soon that I cannot. He may depend upon my writing him very particular by the next, [therefore] beg him to write me.

You'll Excuse an Unconnected jumbled Letter, the Times are jumbled in such a Manner as that it is impossible for a man to write. I wish You my dear Bro. all the Happiness this Life can afford you & hope in God, when the Peace of this Country is restored you may be restored, and taste the sweets of domestic Life, the only Source of Happiness in this World.

I am with the Sincerest Esteem

Your true Friend &

Lo'g Brother,

S. Paine.

Since my beginning this, the Brave Abercromby is dead of a wound he rec'd in Battle Saturday.

Peter Thacher's Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill June, 1775.

The following account was written by a person who was an eye witness of the battle of Bunker's Hill. Some of the circumstances the intervention of the hill prevented him from seeing, for he stood on the [*east] north, side of Mystic river. [He remembers well however the precipitate retreat of the British troops to the beach and the exertions of the officers to rally and carry them on again to action; this was fair by us for at the moment he ardently wished they might be unsuccessful.] What facts he did not see himself were communicated to him by Col. Prescott (who commanded the provincials) and by other persons who were personally conversant in the scenes which [it describes] this narration describes. It was drawn up within one fortnight after the 17th of June 1775. while events were recent in the minds of the actors and it is now faithfully copied from the draught then made in a great hurry. This might serve as an excuse for the inaccuracies and embarrassments of the stile which could have been altered, had not the author felt himself obliged to give a copy of the account precisely as it was then written. It was transmitted by the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts to their friends in

*In this account words within brackets are erased in the original manuscript.

England and may now possibly be in the hands of some person there. The author [now] signs his name which, though it may give no other celebrity to the account, will, he hopes, convince those who know him that the account is true, for he flatters himself that they none of them can believe him to be guilty of the baseness and wickedness of a falsehood.

Peter Thacher.

In consequence of undoubted information received from Boston by the commanders of the continental army at Cambridge that Gen'l Gage with a party of his troops purposed the next day to take possession of Bunkers hill a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, they determined with the advice of the committee of safety of the Massachusetts province to [take possession of that hill] send a party who might erect some fortifications upon the hill & prevent this design. Accordingly on the 16 of June, orders were issued that a party of about one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown & entrench upon the hill. [In the evening] about 9 o'clock in the evening the detachment marched [from Cambridge & came] upon this design to Breed's hill situated on the further part of the peninsula next to Boston, for by a mistake of orders [it was understood] this hill was marked out for the entrenchment instead of [the hill behind, Bunkers] the other hill.

As there were many things necessary to be done preparatory to the [peoples beginning work] [soldiers] entrenchments being thrown up which could not be done before lest the enemy should observe them, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the [entrenchment was begun] work was entered upon for the clocks in Boston were heard to strike also 10 minutes after the men first took their tools into their hands. The work was carried on [in very] with animation & success so that by the dawn of the day they had nearly compleated a small [square] redoubt about eight rods square; at [break of day] this time an heavy fire began from 3 men of war, a number of floating batteries & from a fortification of the enemys on Cops hill in Boston directly opposite the little redoubt; these [discharge] kept up an incessant shower of shot & bombs, by which one man pretty soon fell; not discouraged by the melancholy fate of their companion the soldiers laboured indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breastwork extending from ye north side of the redoubt on ye north side to the bottom of the hill but were prevented by the in[cessant] [tolerable] fire of ye enemy from compleating [this or the redoubt] ye whole in such a manner as to make them defensible; [but they were] found that having laboured thus in ye e'ing they should have

to do other business besides intrenching for] Between 12 & 1 o'clock [they perceived] a number of boats & barges filled with [troops who] soldiers were observed [coming to attack them] approaching towds Charlestown. These [troops] landed their troops at a place called Moretons Point situated a little to the eastward of [our redoubt; they immediately] our works; the brigade formed upon ye landing tho they were [a little] something galled by the fire of two small field pieces which [our people had] were placed at the end of the entrenchment. They stood thus formed till [they had received] a second brigade arrived from Boston to join them. [They then marched up extending their flanks for a large way] having sent out large flank guards in order to surround [our people] them they began a very slow march towards our Lines; at this instant flames & smoke were seen to arise in large clouds, from the town of Charlestown wh had been set on fire [by a carcass fired] from [one] some of ye enemys batterys with a design to favour their attack upon our Lines by the smoke which as [the wind at first stood] they imagined wd have been blown directly [upon them] their way & covered them in their attack but the wind changing at this instant it was carried [beyond them] another way.

The provincials in the redoubt & the Lines reserved their fire till the enemy had [arrived] come within about 10 or 12 yards, & then discharged at once upon them; ye fire threw their body into very great confusion & [the main body] all of them after having kept a fire for some time retreated in very gt [precipitation] disorder down to the [Lines] point where they landed, & [three] some of them even into their boats. At this time their officers were observed by spectators on the opposite shore to come down [to the point] and then to [exert themselves to the utmost] use the most passionate gestures & even to push forward ye men with their swords; at length by their exertions the troops were again rallied & marched up to the entrenchments; the Americans [again] reserved their fire & a second time [by this means again & a second time] put the regulars to flight who once more retreated in precipitation to ye boats.

The same or greater exertions were now agn observed to be made by their officers wh notwithstanding the evident reluctance discovered by the soldiers [were attended with the same effect] were successfull, & having formed once more they [sent a party who by flanking the entrenchments wth] brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake ye inside of ye breastwork & having drove the provincials there into the redoubt they determined now it appeared to make a decisive effort; the fire from the ships & batterys as well as from ye cannon in the front of ye army, was redoubled; innumerable bombs were sent into the fort; the officers behind the army of ye regulars

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